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# **Daily Report—**

## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-010  
Tuesday  
16 January 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-010

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16 January 1990

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**ICO Calls for Peace Between Iran, Iraq**

*AB1101113990 Paris AFP in French 1633 GMT  
9 Jan 90*

[Text] Niamey, 9 Jan (AFP)—The secretary general of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO], Hamid Algabid of Niger, has appealed to Iran and Iraq to initiate a process for peace and economic development. The NIGER PRESS AGENCY reported today quoting a communique from the organization's general secretariat.

According to the agency, Mr Algabid expressed in Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) his "apprehension and impatience and that of the Umah (Islamic community) with the slowness of the peace negotiations" between Iran and Iraq.

After stressing the need to "seize every peace opportunity," Mr Algabid declared that "the recent peace proposals submitted by the Iraqi head of state, Saddam Husayn, rekindles our hope that the doors of dialogue will not be shut forever."

Mr Algabid recalled that a month after his appointment to the ICO secretariat in January 1989, he called on the heads of the two warring nations to give their support to the UN secretary general in the search for peace. Iran and Iraq are 2 of the 46 members of the ICO, which will celebrate its 20th anniversary on 7 February.

**\* Lusophone Nations Express Solidarity in Brazil**

*90EF0100A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
4 Nov 89 p 1*

[Text] Last Thursday, at the end of the summit of the "Seven" in Sao Luis de Maranhao, Brazil, the presidents of Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guine-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe manifested their support for Angola and Mozambique in their efforts for peace, as well as their solidarity with East Timor in its struggle for self-determination. President Joaquim Chissano represented our country in participating in the summit, and for Angola, Huila Province Commissar Lopo do Nascimento represented President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

In the meeting preceding the signing of the act of founding the Institute for Portuguese Language, and on the initiative of Portuguese President Mario Soares, an analysis was made of the political situation in southern

Africa and of its consequences for Angola and Mozambique, as well as the question of East Timor.

In the speech given Wednesday morning at the first session of the meeting of the Chiefs of State of the Portuguese-speaking countries, President Mario Soares expressed his desire that the leaders of the six countries and the representative of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Lopo do Nascimento, extend the debates to analyze the situation in Angola and Mozambique.

Eduardo dos Santos excused his nonappearance at the summit of Sao Luis de Maranhao with the closeness of the elections in Namibia and preparation for another "round," with a view to establishing a peace agreement in the country.

In the "Declaration of Sao Luis," one of the documents developed during the meeting held on Thursday morning, which lasted 3 hours, the "Seven" stated that "on undertaking the current level of cooperation between their countries, through the opportunity to exchange impressions that the meeting has afforded, they analyzed the situation in southern Africa and its consequences for that cooperation."

The document also stated that the presidents of the other countries "took note of the information provided by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the representative of the President of the People's Republic of Angola on the processes of the quest for peace under way in their countries, that are necessary to put an end to the violence and conflicts and to implant a climate of agreement that will permit the social and economic development and well being of all their citizens."

The leaders of the other five countries, continues the declaration, "praised these efforts, exhort the international community to support them, and condemn all interference in the internal affairs" of Angola and Mozambique.

Mario Soares told LUSA that to his thinking, as East Timor is also a territory that speaks Portuguese, the "Seven" could not let the occasion pass without manifesting their solidarity with the struggle for self-determination and reconquest of the identity of the East Timoran people.

"And one of the signs of that identity is the Portuguese language," he noted.

**SADCC Immigration Ministers Meet 12 Jan**

*MB1201175590 Gaborone Domestic Service  
in English 1610 GMT 12 Jan 90*

[Text] The minister of labor and home affairs, Mr Patrick Balopi, has said it is a welcome trend for SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] member states to be economically interdependent.

Opening a 1-day meeting of SADCC ministries responsible for immigration, Mr Balopi said this trend is indicated by the fact that SADCC member states are beginning to feel the immigration problem engendered by interaction of citizens of different states in the spirit of the grouping.

The minister, however, expressed concern that there are some elements in SADCC communities who view SADCC endeavors as offering a wonderful opportunity for them to get rich quickly through illegal activities across the entire region. He said this is one of the reasons why all SADCC states find it difficult to adopt an open door policy for the movement of the people in the region. He said serious attention has been given to the question of visa requirements, particularly for government officials, and other personnel engaged in SADCC duties. Mr Balopi said problems had been experienced when government and SADCC officials had to visit countries in the region where visas are required on entry. He said it had been decided in the meantime that member states be requested to issue blanket approval for the entry of those accredited officials of government who were travelling to SADCC meetings.

The minister said topics to be discussed at today's meeting were whether to adopt an open door immigration policy, abolish visa regulations in the SADCC community, and maintain the status quo in respect of private travelling.

**Official Meets Press**

*MB1501163390 Gaborone Domestic Service  
in English 1110 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] The first SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] ministers of immigration meeting for the region, held in Gaborone, came up with several recommendations to be presented to the Lusaka council of ministers, due in 3 weeks [words indistinct] Simbi Makoni, in a press conference at the President Hotel on Friday [12 January] evening, told media representatives that the meeting, a follow-up to one held in Harare, in August 1989, considered ways of improving the flow of people within the SADCC region.

In the past, he noted, SADCC has been preoccupied with the movement of goods and not with its citizens.

He said the ministers examined the constraints and restrictions on movement by the public imposed by member states on each other.

Dr Makoni said the exercise to examine issues inhibiting people's free movement within the region started 3 years ago, when the secretariat was instructed to look into the issue.

He told the press conference that the ministers confined deliberations to three major areas: the general immigrating public, the official immigrating class, and (?interservice) cooperation.

The problems addressed concerning the general immigrating public sought to examine visa requirements. The ideal situation would be the abolition of visa requirements between member states. This, however, he said, was found impractical, given such prevailing circumstances such as war in Angola and Mozambique and the accompanying possible security threats.

Furthermore, Dr Makoni said, the system was found impractical due to the lack of adequate manpower and facilities, including embassies. He said it was for this reason that it was agreed to enter into bilateral agreements which would facilitate the freer movement of people within the region.

Dr Makoni said the ministers (?had called) for the efficient implementation, which would entail a review and evaluation of existing agreements, with the aim of producing a prototype.

Turning to the official immigrating class, Dr Makoni noted that, given the fact that some SADCC meetings are called within short notice, thereby not permitting adequate visa application time, two remedial solutions emerged. These would call for the issuing of a diplomatic SADCC passport, which would further result in visa exemption or quickened visa issuance upon due production of SADCC (?identity) card.

Dr Makoni said, further to this, greater cooperation is to be forged among member states to facilitate such procedures as the exchange of criminals and prohibited immigrants. This is to be made possible by the establishment of a SADCC body to monitor progress and influence cooperation.

**\* Al-Qadhdhafi To Boycott All African Conferences**

*90EF0100B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese  
15 Nov 89 p 8*

[Text] Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi declared that he will boycott the African meetings that take place in Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia, as a sign of protest against the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Israel.

The Sudanese newspaper AL-SUDAN AL-HADTH published Monday what it described as an exclusive statement by al-Qadhdhafi in which the Libyan leader warned against a possible Arab realization of the Ethiopian initiative.

The government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam announced 3 November that it would reestablish diplomatic relations with Israel, which had been broken by Addis-Ababa during the course of the Israeli-Arab war of 1973.

Al-Qadhdhafi accused Mengistu of a myopic outlook and said that "Ethiopia did not consider all the Arabs

and Africans in the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which has its headquarters in Addis-Ababa."

"The Arabs, who occupy 9 of the 50 seats in the OAU, will not accept the Israeli flag flying in Addis-Ababa," he said.

The Libyan leader stated that he will participate in no more conferences in Ethiopia, but left the door open for the participation of Libyan officials in OAU meetings.

**Burundi****President Appoints New Provincial Governors**

*EA1201204890 Bujumbura Domestic Service  
in French 1800 GMT 11 Jan 90*

[Summary] The president of the Republic has just appointed two provincial governors. Raphael Bitarino has been appointed governor of Bubanza Province. And Francois Ngeze as governor of Cankuzo Province. Hitherto, these two men were the first national secretary in charge of social affairs at the party headquarters and the party permanent secretary on Bujumbura town council.

**Sao Tome & Principe****Da Costa Recalls Envoys to Belgium, Portugal**

*AB1301154790 Paris AFP in French 1916 GMT  
12 Jan 90*

[Text] Sao-Tome, 12 Jan (AFP)—The ambassadors of Sao-Tome and Principe to Brussels (Belgium) and Lisbon (Portugal) respectively, Mrs Maria Manuela Margarido and Henrique Frederico Sequeira, have been recalled from their posts by a Presidential decree from Manuel Pinto da Costa, it was learned from official sources in Sao-Tome today. No reasons was given for this decision. The radio merely said that it was to make Sao Tome and Principe's diplomatic missions abroad more "operational."

However, according to persistent unofficial reports, the two ambassadors have been recalled by President Pinto da Costa to be part of the government that will be formed after the expected cabinet reshuffle in the country, observers point out. According to the same sources, Mrs Maria Margarido and Frederico Sequeira could respectively be appointed foreign and social affairs ministers. Mrs Margarido was posted to Brussels for more than 2 years with jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, and the FRG.

**Zaire****UNITA's Savimbi Arrives for Talks With Mobutu**

*MB1301054190 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] The leader of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Dr Jonas Savimbi, is in Zaire for talks with President Mobutu, who has been acting as mediator in talks to end the civil war in Angola.

Talks involving eight countries on ways to end the civil war were called off earlier this week because of an intensification of fighting in southwestern Angola.

On Wednesday [10 January] Dr Savimbi postponed indefinitely a 3-week tour of Africa and Europe because of the escalation of the civil war.

**Mobutu Calls for Dialogue, Eschews 'Perestroyka'**

*AB1401215290 Paris AFP in French 1813 GMT  
14 Jan 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 14 Jan (AFP)—The Zairian head of state, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, today in Kinshasa called for a "direct dialogue" between the government and the people, adding the "perestroyka" does not concern his party because it is "not at the left, the right, or the center, but rather, it is authentic."

Speaking on the occasion of the presentation of wishes by official organizations, Mr Mobutu invited the people to "directly and freely" send him their ideas on the running of institutions. For the first time, Mr Mobutu spoke about changes in Eastern Europe, saying that they do not concern the Popular Movement for the Revolution (MPR—sole party); the MPR has "chosen an original way, that of authenticity," and therefore, it has no ideological reference, he said.

"Multiparty politics is not on the agenda, he added, and neither is a radical change in the country's leadership.

Mr Mobutu also announced "changes" to build lasting development for his country. These changes, he said, must be made in the economic but not in the political field because the gains of the Zairian revolution must be preserved. He called on the country's leaders to work for the development of the rural people. Observers believe Mr Mobutu's current concerns are: Pursuing the decentralization policy and restructuring the rural organizations, which will be the object of a forthcoming extraordinary congress of the MPR Central Committee.

The president also announced measures concerning food, health, transport, and infrastructures to improve the people's daily lives, which have been affected by the economic crisis. To ensure that these reforms are carried out, the head of state explained that this year, he will tour the provinces to "re-establish contact with the rural communities."

**Satisfied With Economic Development**

*AB1501125090 Dakar PANA in French 1001 GMT  
15 Jan 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 15 Jan (AZAP/PANA)—The political, social and economic aspects of national life were at the center of the national address given by the president of the Republic on Sunday [14 January]. On the occasion of the presentation of new year wishes by the constituted bodies of the Republic, the head of state expressed satisfaction at the economic level with the results obtained given the economic indicators.

In fact, by 31 December 1989, the level of inflation had fallen sharply. At 56 percent, it is much less than the 75 percent target fixed by the World Bank and IMF. Real interest rates have become positive to such an extent that the Bank of Zaire had to reduce its guiding rates.

Meanwhile, the gap between the official rate and the black market rate has been reduced to a tolerable difference of 10 percent.

The Zairian head of state stressed that these results were obtained mainly through increased revenue collection and a strict control of expenditures. He indicated that the reorganization efforts introduced in 1988 and 1989 must continue in order to achieve lasting growth, for the economic objectives of Zaire will not be fully achieved if we are not able to satisfy the material and social needs of the Zairian people both in the towns and the countryside.

This is the reason why agriculture will remain at the center of the priorities of Zairian authorities. If Zaire has been able to attain self-sufficiency in the production of cassava, peanuts, beans and yam, the staple food of the Zairian people, it has not yet done so for corn, rice, sugar, fish and meat. Furthermore, the bad state of roads has prevented the development of the agricultural sector.

Concerning the small- and medium-scale enterprises, Marshal Mobutu stressed the important role that they could play in the creation of employment, the production and distribution of riches. It is within this perspective that he has created within the government a ministry of middle classes and handicrafts. The government will do everything to strengthen the mechanisms that have been set up to support their actions, especially at the level of the guarantee fund, exchange risks reserve fund, and the industrial promotion fund.

The Zairian president also recalled the personal action that he has undertaken in the riverine villages, particularly in the regions of Kinshasa, Bandundu, Equateur, and very soon the Haut-Zaire, and which he intends to generalize in order to make the rural populations more dynamic and more productive.

It must be recalled that President Mobutu has already installed 33 generators in several fishing villages and communities, which will soon be supplied with potable water, dispensaries and medicines. The Executive Council (government) will soon contribute to the implementation of this action which, until now, has been executed by presidential endowment.

#### Calls Extraordinary Party Session

AB1501223290 Dakar PANA in French 1225 GMT  
15 Jan 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 15 Jan (AZAF/PANA)—President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire yesterday announced the convening of an extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the Popular Movement for the Revolution (MPR state party) to examine various issues relating to political, economic, and social strategies for the development of his country.

Receiving New Year wishes from official organizations, Marshal Mobutu also spoke at length about current

changes in Eastern European countries and their implications on the African Continent. The Zairian head of state said this trend is favored to a large extent by Mr Gorbachev's political will to give new impetus to his country, which will better enable it to assume its national and international destiny.

Marshal Mobutu remarked on the wisdom of the Zairian people who, after the bloody incident that Zaire experienced and at the crucial point of the ideological struggles that are predominant in the world and left the weak countries with no options, chose, not the ready-made and imported ideologies, but rather an original way characterized by the search for the country's own identity on which its future would be built.

The Zairian president stated that in the light of events in Eastern Europe, the Zairian people recognize the fairness and the adequacy of the line of policy they have freely chosen. This choice has enabled Zaire to reestablish peace, achieve national unity, and build a state which today is respected in Africa and the world. No Zairian would, at any cost, like to lose these gains or put them in question.

As possible repercussions of perestroika, the Zairian head of state sees, first of all, a lull, if not an end to the cold war from which Africa has greatly suffered and whose stigma it continues to bear. He then sees an end of the ideologies which, since the Second World War, have served as political instruments of confrontation and distrust among states. Finally, he sees that this is the right moment to put an end to the arms race. Disarmament should be accelerated for the benefit of development, especially that of the poor nations.

Since the beginning of this movement in Eastern Europe, intellectuals and African leaders have been thinking in various ways about the continent's future. Some have cast off their ideologies which have been put in question. Others are planning for the introduction of Western multiparty politics. Others go so far as to favor the emergence of tendencies within their parties.

Speaking about tendencies, the Zairian head of state asked if there should be a right, and left, and a center in African parliaments—as if Africa should always progress in the wake of others' ideas. Did we not reject this aping of the West as being the cause of our failures he asked.

Concerning the MPR, President Mobutu said it is unthinkable, and even impossible for there to be absolute unanimity of opinion on all the problems of national life. Opinions have always been different and conflicting on a large number of issues, such as how to manage public property, territorial administration, the decentralization process, and the country's political, economic, social, and judiciary policies. It is around these issues and others relating to national development that various opinions and feelings in Zaire should center. This is how we see political pluralism, Marshal Mobutu maintained. This free expression of ideas and viewpoints is a natural tendency to which no one is opposed within the MPR.

Thus, the Zairian president said, multiparty politics, in the Zairian context, must take into account all the feelings and political, cultural, ethnic, and geophysical contingencies as we formulate our national policies. Marshal Mobutu also observed that the rare African countries which have adopted the multiparty trend have been subjected to the same treatment and the same constraints as the others, and they have not received from the West the outpouring of solidarity that the Western countries are currently displaying toward Eastern Europe.

President Mobutu also announced the convening of an extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the Party to examine various issues relating to political, economic, and social strategies for the development of Zaire. Meanwhile, he invited the active forces of the nation to send to the secretary general of the MPR or to his office their ideas and opinions on the running of Zairian institutions in light of the socioeconomic requirements for development.

### **Observers Say Reshuffle To Promote Economy**

*AB1201181290 Paris AFP in English 1726 GMT  
12 Jan 90*

[By Jean-Claude Fiol]

[Text] Kinshasa, Jan 12 (AFP)—Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko has handed out 20 government portfolios to newcomers in a reshuffle meant to promote economic recovery, notably in agriculture, analysts said here Friday [12 January].

Thursday's changes, which accompanied a major shakeup in the single ruling People's Movement for the Revolution (MPR) Party, were described as a "veritable upheaval" by state radio.

La Voix du Zaire built up tension over the hours as it told listeners to stay tuned while broadcasting songs in praise of Marshal Mobutu.

In fact, the head of state named 12 new state commissioners (ministers) and eight secretaries of state, but

retained Prime Minister Kengo wa Dondo, Foreign Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond, and other senior officials in what analysts saw as largely technical shake-up.

Mr. Kengo Wa Dondo has been the main architect of an economic reform programme which has won the confidence of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Ten ministers and four secretaries in the previous 47-member government were ousted.

Former information minister Sakombi Inongo was named to the MPR's Central Committee with responsibility for propaganda and political education. The other main party leadership changes concerned key economic sectors.

Marshal Mobutu, who has just made a tour of northern provinces, has devised "a new form of rural activity that he intends to oversee personally," it was officially announced.

Economic analysts in the capital said that he clearly planned to promote agriculture, noting that Zaire currently imports 40 percent of its food needs, largely because of poor rural organization and inadequate distribution.

Last month Marshal Mobutu said that "the party's Central Committee and the government have generally done well but did not achieve all the results I was counting on."

Other changes Thursday [11 January] included the appointment of a new armed forces chief of staff, General Manzebe Ma Ebanga. The Army is a principal component of the MPR.

Marshal Mobutu put former Industry Minister Ndede Bamu at the head of the economically vital national mining corporation gecamines, and shook up six other state-run firms.

He also made changes in the Justice Department, the National Audit Office and the governorship of four regions.

## Ethiopia

### Government Reports Victories Over TPLF

EA1201204690 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Amharic 1700 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Statement issued by the National Revolutionary Campaign Center entitled: Implementing Popular Responsibility Into Action]

[Text] **Implementing Popular Responsibility Into Action:** a statement issued by the National Revolutionary Campaign Center.

The Weyane group [Tigray People's Liberation Front, TPLF] and their commanders, who wish to spread suffering, misery, famine, and hunger, exile and death to the entire Ethiopian people if their narrow objectives are not fulfilled, have arrogantly unleashed and are intensifying an all-out war. However, in accordance with the unwavering position taken by all genuine Ethiopians from all corners of the country to curb the war by making all necessary sacrifices, the true sons and daughters of the people are combating the enemy as it comes, with a patriotic fervor and without choosing place or time.

In accordance with the strategy mapped out by the National Revolutionary Campaign Center, which was urgently established to implement the decision of the Ethiopian people and the noble trust bestowed on it, various sections of our Armed Forces and people's militia who are patriots of the country's unity are proudly discharging their responsibilities at the fronts.

The determined sons and daughters of the people, who are heroically facing the enemy so that the ancient motherland of Ethiopia will not be disgraced, have recently scored a brilliant victory over the huge enemy army in southern Gonder region, in particular around Debre Tabor, and are advancing forward by strengthening their united force with the support of the inhabitants of the areas.

Consequently, our 4th Revolutionary Army and our people's militia on its side have crushed the Weyane fighting force which had infiltrated and was entrenched in northern Shewa region, and have totally cleansed the area. Our revolutionary Army and our People's Militia have continued their activities to chase in hot pursuit to crush and eliminate the enemy force which escaped destruction and is attempting to escape through Welo region.

Amnesty will be given to those who were misled and were serving the interests of the enemy but who admit the supremacy of the people and repent. The people of northern Shewa and Welo regions have been called upon to follow in hot pursuit the declared enemies of the country, who are trying to hide and escape, to crush them, take the arms and the property you capture for yourselves and hand over the captives to the government. Ethiopia first.

### TPLF Said Fleeing North to Welo

AB1501074590 Paris AFP in English 0813 GMT  
14 Jan 90

[By Seyoum Ayele]

[Text] Addis Ababa, Jan 14 (AFP)—Ethiopia's 4th Army and People's Militia have "completely cleared" Tigray rebels from North Shewa and are in hot pursuit of guerrillas fleeing north to Welo, according to the official ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY (ENA). The rebels were trying to escape, apparently to Tigray Province, through Welo Administrative Region, ENA said on Saturday, quoting the National Revolutionary Campaign Center.

Meanwhile, large numbers of fighters from Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF] had reportedly been taken prisoner in South Gonder Administrative Region where they reportedly suffered a crushing defeat last week. Though the government does not acknowledge the existence of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which rebels claim is a merger of the TPLF and the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM), the EPRDF says it spearheads the rebellion into Gondar, Welo, and Shewa Provinces, the largely ethnic Amhara regions in the north.

ENA said vigilantes in the Debre Tabor District of South Gonder were handing over prisoners in increasing numbers and arming themselves with weapons they had seized. They were also turning over to the government "huge quantities" of sophisticated weapons captured from the rebels, according to the agency, which called on villagers in North Shewa, Welo and Gondar to intensify the mopping-up operations. It urged fleeing rebels to surrender if they wished to be pardoned.

The authorities announced a decisive government victory against the TPLF in North Shewa and the Debre Tabor area of South Gonder a week ago in the first such major defeat for the rebels since renewed fighting broke out on August 31. The next major target for the government army could be the Welo Region where the guerrillas are believed to have infiltrated in force, and indeed claim control of many towns. The Welo provincial capital of Dese is reportedly teeming with displaced people from all over the province and from Tigray, the latest coming from the District of Lalibela, famous for its rock-hewn churches.

At the start of the year, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, which has been fighting for independence for nearly 28 years, said the TPLF and other opposition movements controlled Tigray and most of Wola, Gojam, Gonder, Shewa and Welega as well as other northern provinces.

### EPLF Terms Red Sea Coast, Mits'iwa 'War Zone'

EA1301165190 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad  
Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] has warned civilians travelling along the Red Sea coast in

general and places north of Mits'iwa in particular to refrain from moving around freely because the area has recently become a dumping ground for foreign arms.

In a statement issued yesterday the EPLF noted that the Dergue government has been conducting coordinated air, sea, and ground military exercises in the area since last week. Using these exercises as a pretext, it is amassing arms and other military equipment from different sources to be used for the war.

According to the statement, the actions taken last week by EPLF naval forces against different ships were carried out in this confused military situation. The EPLF expresses its disappointment over the attacks and consequent dangers, and urges concerned innocent parties to refrain from moving freely in the war zone mentioned above.

### **Warns Ships; SFRY Freighter Freed**

*AB1301164890 Paris AFP in English 1623 GMT  
13 Jan 90*

[Text] Nairobi, Jan 13 (AFP)—The main Eritrean rebel group fighting in northern Ethiopia issued a warning to merchant ships in the southern Red Sea, after three freighters were attacked off the Eritrean coast in the last two weeks.

One, a Polish freighter with a 30-member crew, was still held Saturday though it was not immediately clear by which group. Rebels have been blamed for all three incidents.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) said its naval forces had been forced "to take necessary preventive measures" because of military activity by the Ethiopian regime, the statement was issued in London and arrived here Saturday.

It said the Ethiopian regime had launched "concerted land, air and sea military maneuvers along the shores of the Red Sea", especially along the Eritrean coast north of the port of Mits'iwa.

This included shipments of weapons and other war material, and had consequently "rendered the region a zone of tension and confrontation".

The EPLF regretted that "incidents" might occur during patrols, but "advises all civilian vessels that use the route to take stock of the tense situation", the statement said.

On Wednesday, a Yugoslav freighter and its 32-man crew, the "Heroj Kosta Stamenkovic" carrying flour donated for Ethiopians, was attacked off Mits'iwa and held for a day until its release late Thursday.

Its captain first had to sign a statement "saying he would not put into the country's southern ports in the future", according to Flemming Ramsby, a spokesman for the Copenhagen-based Baltic and International Maritime Council (BIMCO), representing the ship.

The freighter still held is the "Boleslaw Krzywousty", attacked on January 3 about 100 kilometers north (60 miles) of Mits'iwa and taken hostage with its 30 crew members.

Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has appealed to the rebels to "immediately release" the hostages, and the Warsaw government has ask for help from the International Red Cross.

It was not known if the Polish crewmen were held by the EPLF or by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), a smaller guerrilla group.

A second Polish ship, the "Adam Asnyk" which spotted the "Boleslaw Krzywousty" earlier this week, was forced away after it came under fire from shore on Friday.

London representatives of the EPLF have denied all knowledge of the attack on the Polish vessel.

The Ethiopian Government Monday said it would take "appropriate measures" to find the Polish freighter and free its crew, but did not say how it would go about this.

### **Claims Responsibility for Attacks**

*JN1401071190 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic  
0500 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) has admitted that it is responsible for the series of attacks on mercantile ships in the Red Sea recently. The Front said it regrets these operations, which the EPLF carried out under disturbed military conditions. The Front asked parties that are not involved to stay away from the war zone.

The Front neither disclosed the names of the ships that had been attacked nor revealed the fate of 30 Polish sailors who were taken hostage during one of these attacks.

### **Somalia**

#### **SNM Radio Views Collapse of Siad Regime**

*EA1301215890 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali National Movement in Somali 1500 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[“Press Release” from the office of the Somali National Movement information secretary]

[Text] The Fascist regime, which for the past 20 years has mercilessly massacred innocent Somalis, appears to have collapsed completely. The regime is cracking up and there is no sign whatsoever that this satanic regime can survive any longer. The successes achieved by the rebel forces have put much pressure on the regime. The legitimate fighters have large areas of our country under their control. The rebel forces have captured areas in the center, north, and south of the country. These successes cheer all Somalis, who look forward to the ousting of the dictatorial regime of Afweynah [big mouth—derogatory term for Mohamed Siad Barre] and the rehabilitation

and reconstruction of all the state organs and the Somali nation as a whole. The regime has also attempted to destroy the sacred religion of Islam and the deep-rooted traditions and culture of the Somali people.

The dismissal of one group of lackeys, the so-called government, and the formation of another is a sign of big mouth's attempt to save his dying regime. The despotic Siad regime has attempted to cheat the Somali people for many years. There is no part of Somalia which is peaceful. The dictator has destroyed the political, economic, social, and religious system of Somalia. The secret murders, open massacres, oppression and pillage of the Somali people has gone beyond all limits. The despot Siad thinks that he will blame the so-called government for failing to do something about the country's problems. The legitimate fighters will not slacken their onslaught against the regime.

The tyrant Siad is at the same time the president, the next prime minister, the next commander in chief, the next chairman of the security and national defense council of the country, and the next chairman of justice committee. He also claims to head many other state organs. This shows that he is the sole dictator who rules the country. He can hire and fire with no regard to anybody. Aweyne still nurses the illusion that he is still the father of the nation. He has destroyed the nation and that is why the Somali National Movement has on many occasions said that the solution for Somalia is the complete removal of dictator big mouth and his henchmen. The country can only return to normality after that and the Somali nation can then decide its own destiny.

### Tanzania

#### Zanzibar President Speech Urges Unity

EA1201212890 Zanzibar Domestic Service  
in Swahili 0846 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Speech by Zanzibar President Idris Abdul Wakil to mark the 26th anniversary of the Zanzibar revolution at Amani stadium in Zanzibar—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] Fortunately, the president of Tanganyika African National Union [TANU] the time of the revolution and the union was Mwalimu [teacher] Nyerere who, unfortunately, is not with us today. He is abroad, but I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of my fellow citizens to ask him to accept our very sincere gratitude for his firm and resolute stance in maintaining and promoting our unity under our CCM [ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party].

We assure him that the people of Zanzibar are firmly with him in maintaining the strength of our unity and in safeguarding its benefits for the interest of the country, its people and future generations. May God grant him long life [applause] and long live the CCM.

Comrade citizens, one of the things we have succeeded in doing in the past 26 years is establishing a strong unity. Today the formation of Tanzania is a unity which is known in the African continent and throughout the world. Its stance and efforts in defending the independence and dignity of this nation are obvious and no one can deny the progress and success of this unity in our affairs.

Is there anyone who can confuse us and succeed in dividing us to exasperate our unity and development? I say there is. [applause] Do not be fooled, citizens, there is one.

The revolutionary party and government are confident that, citizens, you understand the truth of this fact and you yourselves are not ready to be divided again.

Is there anyone here who contributes to the concept that there exists one who will trick us and upset what we have attained through the strength of our unity for which we have worked in the past 26 years?

Citizens, let us continue to be vigilant and more resolute in (?developing) and maintaining our unity and let us be upright in developing our country, particularly in reviving our economy under our revolutionary government. [passage omitted]

**ANC 'Prepared To Talk' With Pretoria**

*MB1601055790 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0500 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] is saying it is prepared to talk to Pretoria while some key apartheid laws are still in force. After emotional reunions between exiled members and those recently released from prison, leaders told British television that they would negotiate if the ANC was unbanned and free to engage in peaceful political activity.

In what has been called a dramatic departure from its previous negotiating stance, senior leaders have recognized President de Klerk's reforms so far, calling them gestures of material significance. The ANC leaders said if their organization was unbanned they would be prepared to talk to Pretoria, even if apartheid laws like the Group Areas Act were still in force.

**Editorial Criticizes U.S. 'Arch-Critics', Visits**

*MB1201172090 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English  
11 Jan 90 p 6*

[Editorial]

[Text] Mr Howard Wolpe, arch-enemy of South Africa, has come and gone.

He has held his discussions, he has made his pronouncements, he has left with a warning of further sanctions if South Africa does not start good-faith negotiations within a "reasonable time" in terms of the UN resolution on South Africa.

Now there might have been a sneaking feeling in some government circles that the more pragmatic, reasonable policies of the State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, would convince even Mr Wolpe that the government is in earnest about change.

After all, if Mr Wolpe can come here without any difficulty, then Pretoria must be changing.

Besides, Mr Wolpe would just have to look around and see how easy-going the government of Mr de Klerk is.

There are ANC [African National Congress] leaders who had the opportunity of speaking openly to Mr Wolpe.

Although they told him to apply more sanctions, there should have been enough evidence even for such a biased man as Mr Wolpe, that sanctions harm the people they are intended to help.

But even if Mr Wolpe were to get the message, the well-heeled and well-fed chairman of the House of Representatives' Africa Subcommittee could salve his conscience with the thought that there are Blacks prepared to suffer for their freedom.

Only some suffer more than others—and those who do not suffer at all are those who are loudest in their demands for tougher sanctions.

Mr Wolpe and his two Congressional colleagues, Mr Alan Wheat and Mrs Constance Morella, found "no evidence that the government has yet made any decision that it will, in fact, accept a democratic government by all the people on the basis of a universal equal franchise".

The changes made or announced left the most significant elements of the apartheid system of White domination wholly unchanged, they said.

The release of many political prisoners was a constructive step, but "hundreds of political trials" were continuing, and "hundreds of other political prisoners" continued to languish in jail or where on Death Row awaiting execution for political acts (sic).

The state of emergency, they said, was still in effect, and even its repeal would leave in place other security laws which had often been used in a repressive way.

Their conclusion: "Unless the government acts decisively to meet conditions required for negotiations with the anti-apartheid opposition, the sanctions effort will have to be intensified."

Pressed to spell out his deadline, Mr Wolpe stipulated that changes had to be made in a "reasonable time".

Since the only deadlines we have heard so far are either six months or nine months, expiring by mid-year at the latest, Mr de Klerk is not going to be able to satisfy any of them.

There will be people who will say that nothing happened during Mr Wolpe's visit, so allowing him to come here was justified.

On the other hand, Mr Wolpe came here to confirm his own prejudices and to get ammunition to use against South Africa, which is precisely what he has done.

And we can predict with certainty that he is going to call for more sanctions when he thinks the "reasonable time" is up.

Ahead of us is a visit by the Rev Jesse Jackson.

Mr Jackson may sound conciliatory at this point in time, he may even say a few nice things about Mr de Klerk, but we don't think he will leave South Africa after his visit as a man willing to abandon sanctions or who has anything good to say about us.

Our arch-critics never change their tune, for they have their own constituencies to address back home—and those constituencies are totally opposed to this country.

We would like to tell Mr Wolpe and Mr Jackson, as of old, to go to hell. But that wouldn't do in this period of Pretoriastroika.

But they can take it that this best sums up our feelings.

**Thatcher's Planned Visit, Mandela Release Linked**

*MB1401140190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1351 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] London Jan 14 SAPA—Detailed planning has started for a South African visit by British Premier Margaret Thatcher in the second half of this year, probably September or October, the London SUNDAY TIMES reports.

Quoting government sources, the newspaper said Mrs Thatcher's foreign travel schedule was booked solid until then: Turkey in April, Kiev and Moscow plus the European summit in Dublin in June, and Houston, Texas, in July for the world economic summit.

Confirmation from the government sources that the trip to South Africa is to go ahead has reinforced speculation that the release of Nelson Mandela, one of her prime conditions for a visit, is imminent.

**Mozambicans' 'Open Letter' to President De Klerk**

*MB1401135690 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English  
14 Jan 90 p 10*

[“Open Letter to President Frederik de Klerk”]

[Text] Mr President,

We are Mozambican intellectuals, writers, scientists, men and women from the arts, from journalism, with differing world views, who have been brought together by a profound concern for the future of our country and of the region as a whole.

Over the last decade, the People's Republic of Mozambique has been the setting for one of the most terrible genocides in the history of Africa. The aggression that our country has suffered for so long cannot in any way be described as a war. A war is directed against the armed forces of a state. A war, though it involves destructive acts, prepares the conditions for insurgents to take over the government. This is not what is happening in Mozambique. In our country, the violence is directed fundamentally against civilians, wiping out human lives and destroying economic infrastructures. The violence does not aim to replace one government with another but only to find the means for its own reproduction, making Mozambique inviable as a nation and threatening to extend the chaos to the whole region.

More than a million Mozambicans have either been murdered by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] or died as victims of the other sources of violence and of the widespread hunger caused by the aggression. The survival of millions of others depends essentially on foreign food aid. Hundreds of men and women have

been mercilessly mutilated. Newborn babies are murdered and pregnant women disembowelled. The massive destruction of schools, health centres, shops and other infrastructures also serves to shatter national points of reference which are vital for a people made up of many ethnic groups, races and religious creeds. No set of ethics, no political objective could possibly justify continued support to his process of mass murder.

Mr President,

We have followed with interest your declared intentions to contribute to the building of a new South Africa. We view as positive the changes that are happening in your country and we believe that they are the beginning of an irreversible process of democratization in South Africa. We urge you to proceed on this path of transformation.

All those who were born in South Africa and love it as their home are undeniably South Africans. Through their sense of wisdom, their daily social contact, their moral courage, all communities in South Africa will be able to transcend prejudice and fear—producing a rich African cultural diversity that the whole continent can be proud of. Yet, what harmonious future can there be if the generalized terrorism launched against Mozambique continues, reproducing itself and expanding geographically?

When you were in Maputo in July last year, you suggested that you were willing to contribute to peace in Mozambique. But the fact is that Renamo continues to receive support from South African territory.

The first condition for the establishment of peace in our country is the eradication of all mechanisms conceived in the light of “total strategy” to destabilise the region militarily. In order to cancel this tragic heritage, it is imperative that all the forces in South Africa that still use armed violence to achieve political change in Mozambique be neutralized.

The survival of these mechanisms not only keeps the threat against Southern Africa alive, but establishes a disastrous legacy of destabilization in South Africa itself. By eliminating these organised forces of chaos, Mr President, you would not be performing an act of charity. Rather, you would be incontestably promoting a future peace, which is the necessary condition for the integrated development of all the countries of the region, including your own.

Mr President,

We would not have sent you this open letter if we did not believe that you could use the powers conferred on you as head of the South African state to confront without further delay the forces in South Africa that are involved in the destruction of our common future.

**Signatures:**

Abilio Mondlane (Journalist), Albino Magaia (Writer, Secretary-General of the Mozambican Writers Union),

Alfredo Mueche (Journalist), Alfredo Tembe (Journalist), Elxandre Langa (Musician), Alexandre Luis (Journalist), Antipas Mate (University Lecturer), Armando Muchave (Journalist), Armando Arthur (Writer), Arnaldo Henrique (Journalist), Bartolomeu Tome (Journalist), Calane da Silva (Writer, Journalist), Camilo de Sousa (Film Producer), Carlos Cardoso (Journalist), Clara Soeiro (Actress), Daniel Macarinque (Poet, Teacher), Eduardo Maciel (Singer), Eduardo White (writer), Eugenio Aldasse (Designer), Fernando Lima (Journalist), Fernando Goncalves (Journalist), Fernando Manuel (Journalist) Fernando Bosa (Painter), Filimone Meigos (Writer), Firmino Mucavale (University Lecturer), Gil Launciano (Journalist) Heliodoro Batista (Poet), Isabel Noronha (Film Producer), Jaime Macamo (Journalist) Joao Costa (Film Producer), Joao Manja (Actor), Joao de Sousa (Journalist), Joao Barros (Agronomist), Jorge Matine (Journalist), Jose Cabral (Journalist), Jose Cardoso (Film Producer), Jose Craveirinha (Poet), Jose Mucavel (Musician), Jose Rodrigues Pereira (Dean of the Faculty of Agronomy, Eduardo Mondlane University), Jose Julio Tomas (Musician), Julio Bica (Poet), Julio Macaringue (Journalist), Kok Nam (Journalist), Luis Lemos (Journalist), Machado da Graca (Journalist), Malangatana Ngwenya (Painter) Manuela Soares (Journalist), Marcelino Alves (Journalist), Margarida Manja (Actress), Maria de Lourdes Torcato (Journalist), Mario Souto (teacher), Mia Couto (Writer), Moises Mabunda (Journalist), Naita Ussene (Journalist), Noemia de Sousa (Poetess), Orlando Mendes (Journalist), Orlando Mendes (Writer, Scientist), Paulo Sergio (Journalist), Pedro Chissano (Writer) Pedro Mucavale (Journalist), Romualdo (Musician) Salomao Moyana (Journalist) Sergio Tique (Artist), Shikani (Plastic Artist), Suleiman Cassamo (Writer), Telma Faria (University Lecturer), Tereza Sa Nogueira (Journalist), Tomas Vieira Mario (Journalist), Umgulani Ba Ka (Writer)

### **Marais Discusses Talks With President De Klerk**

*MB1501132390 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1310 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] Pretoria, Jan 15, SAPA—State President F.W. de Klerk said on Monday that white domination in South Africa should be abolished, and that violence was the only alternative to his policy of reform, Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party] leader Jaap Marias said in Pretoria.

Speaking after having "open and genial" talks with Mr de Klerk at the Union Buildings, Mr Marais said Mr de Klerk's standpoint was that he also did not wish to submit whites to black oppression.

Mr de Klerk believed there was a way to attain joint control for all without there being oppressors and oppressed people, Mr Marais said.

Mr de Klerk was not available for comment.

Mr Marais said he conveyed to Mr de Klerk his fears for the future of the white populace.

Mr Marais raised the question of whites values being affected, the impoverishment of whites and their low birth rate.

Increasing concessions to revolutionary demands would lead to negotiations with the African National Congress and powersharing, and eventually, a black majority government, Mr Marais said.

Shifts in international politics, the anti-communist revolts in Eastern Europe, and the emergence of a racist tone in anti-immigration nationalism in West Germany and France could foreshadow greater foreign understanding for South Africa's situation, Mr Marais said.

The government should therefore delay and derail the revolutionary process so there may be different prospect to whites being delivered to a communist-controlled black government, he said.

### **De Klerk Promises 'Streamlined' Government**

*MB1601120290 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY  
in English 16 Jan 90 p 3*

[By Linda Ensor]

[Text] President F.W. de Klerk called on people of all races last night to become involved in the quest for a peaceful solution to SA's [South Africa's] problems.

Speaking at the official opening of new R20m Auto & General Insurance building in Johannesburg, De Klerk said government had embarked on creating a new SA with a modern, streamlined administration characterised by imaginative and innovative constitutional and economic thinking.

De Klerk, speaking to an 800-strong audience, which included top SA businessmen, said all citizens would enjoy equality of opportunity in every sphere of endeavour.

"I ask that all South Africans...become involved in the quest for a peaceful solution so that the building of the new SA will be a constructive process, a process of creating hope, of creating opportunity, of creating a fair and just dispensation for all the people in this country."

"At the same time we will also remain true to the tried and tested principles of democracy and a free market economy."

To achieve this would require vision, the acceptance of risks, the mobilisation of all the talents in the country, a positive spirit of hope and a realistic appraisal of the realities of this country.

On developments in the short-term insurance industry De Klerk said the Melamet Commission's report on the outflow of premiums from SA had been submitted and

its recommendations would enjoy urgent attention with a view to possible further legislation.

Draft legislation relating to the establishment of an office of financial institutions in a statutory council outside the government service—based on the recommendations of the Van der Horst Commission of Inquiry—was being prepared and would also be made available to the industry for comment.

Auto & General chairman Douw Steyn announced that the company intended to make its paperless computer system available to larger brokers this year at their premises at no cost and also planned to accommodate annual business and an annual policy which would cover bank, risk, dealer's indemnity and abscondship.

"I believe we have the best technology in the world for administering personal line business."

Steyn said Auto & General also planned to franchise the system this year to other insurance companies overseas."

#### Commentary Notes Gorbachev's Promises of Reform

MB1601081090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 16 Jan 90

##### [Station commentary]

[Text] For many years, commentators on the Soviet Union have described the endemic tensions among its multiplicity of ethnic groups as a powder keg—the issue that more than any other might yet cause the monolithic communist state to crumble. Such an outcome is now a very real prospect in the wake of the latest explosion of separatist demands and violence.

Alternatively, the position of the reforming President, Gorbachev himself could be at stake as party hardliners intervene to prevent a mass breakaway of hostile federal republics. That, at least, is the fear of western leaders concerned about a possible reversal of recent improvements in international relations, and Eastern European moves toward democracy.

President Gorbachev's hold on power had been increasingly tenuous even before this. As the FINANCIAL TIMES of London put it in an analysis, all the objective factors suggest that he cannot survive the full 9 years more in power that he can constitutionally hope for. The Soviet empire is coming apart. The Marxist ideology has all too obviously failed, while the half-hearted economic reforms that have been attempted have left the economy in an even worse situation, and the ruling party is riddled with divisions. But the upsurge in nationalist strife has greatly increased the Soviet leader's vulnerability. He himself signalled this when he recently canceled all planned meetings with foreign politicians due to visit Moscow; and last week he warned Lithuanians demanding the right to secede and establish an independent republic, that the controversy had put his own position at risk.

There have always been tensions and occasional violence among the more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups, speaking as many languages, in the Soviet Union's 15 federal republics. That their differences have now been taken so much further, is clearly the result of the greater tolerance of political dissent in the Gorbachev era.

Not surprisingly, the demands have been most extreme in the three Baltic Republics, their enthusiasm fired by the far-reaching changes in neighboring Poland and other eastern European countries. The three, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, have never accepted their forcible annexation by Stalin under a secret agreement with Nazi Germany in 1940. The parliaments of all three have passed laws giving them the right to veto Soviet legislation, and declaring their right to secede. The Lithuanian Communist Party, which ironically is in the lead of the breakaway movement, has gone further and established its independence of the Soviet Party. Its leaders speak of Mr Gorbachev as the leader of a foreign country. But the separatist struggle has gone far beyond these three late additions to the union. In the Moslem dominated trans-Caucasus, the parliament of Georgia has claimed that the republic was incorporated illegally, and had the right to secede. Moreover, if Moscow tries to limit its sovereignty in any way, it will deem itself to have seceded.

Azerbaijan nationalists are demanding a breakaway and unification with a group in neighboring Iran, with whom they share ethnic affiliations. The Armenian Parliament has defied Moscow and proclaimed the incorporation of an ethnically linked enclave in Azerbaijan—the cause of the latest strife in which more than 30 people have been killed.

In a desperate attempt to stop the growth of centrifugal forces, President Gorbachev has made major concessions. He had undertaken to introduce legislation providing a mechanism for federal republics to secede, and has for the first time held out the possibility of a multi-party system for the Soviet Union. It remains to be seen, however, whether the promise of further reform will be enough to buy off the separatists, or be tolerated by the hardliners in his own party.

#### UDF: Mandela Release Unlikely Before End of Feb

MB1601082590 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
122 GMT 16 Jan 90

##### [By Lorraine Braid]

[Text] Cape Town Jan 16 SAPA—Jailed African National Congress [ANC] leader Nelson Mandela is not expected to be released before the end of February.

A senior member of the United Democratic Front and close confidante of the Mandela family said on Friday [12 January] it was not expected Mr Mandela would be freed before either the end of February or the beginning of March.

On Monday night, after rumours of a Sam release on Tuesday and rife speculation in the British press over the weekend of the "imminent" release, the source discounted the possibility.

"Nothing has happened since Friday to change my conviction.

"All sanctioned visits for the next couple of weeks are still due to take place."

He referred to the release of the seven ANC and one PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] leaders from prison late last year.

He said the decision for their release had been made as early as July but, due to fluctuations in government thinking, the actual release had taken several months to be realised.

He felt the same was applying to Mr Mandela being given the green light to leave the confinement of his home at Victor Verster prison.

#### **Mandela Reportedly Leaves Prison on Visits**

*MB1501115690 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English  
15 Jan 90 pp 1, 2*

[Text] London—Nelson Mandela has been allowed to cycle round the country lanes near Paarl and go shopping in Cape Town for Christmas presents for his family, according to the MAIL ON SUNDAY.

This was yesterday confirmed by the Mandela lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob.

The newspaper's Chester Stern said Mandela's taste of civilian life was made possible by the fact that very few people recognised the modern-day Mandela.

"For the past four years since he had a prostate operation he had a prostate operation he has made regular visits to his urologist, Willem Laubscher, at a Cape Town medical centre.

"Travelling in the lifts with patients and staff, walking around the corridors, Nelson Mandela has never once been recognised by either black or white."

Stern also recounts two other incidents where Mandela escaped being recognised.

The first happened the day Mandela returned to his prison house after a meeting with P.W. Botha.

He quotes Mandela: "The Press were all there. They stood around as my car slid by a few yards away.

"If anyone had turned around they would have seen Nelson Mandela being driven around by a white man.

"They would have got the picture that they all want through the car windows very easily indeed."

On the second occasion, says Stern, as the Press corps interviewed Mrs Albertina Sisulu at the prison gates, "there was a tall figure watching in the shadows nearby. It was Mandela himself and the photographers never noticed."

Mandela's old friend, businessman Mr Richard Maponya, who visited the jailed ANC [African National Congress] leader recently, says Mandela is demanding three conditions to be met before he will come to the negotiating table.

Maponya told the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH that Mandela wanted to see the ANC unbanned, the release of all political prisoners and an end to prosecutions and executions of convicted ANC guerrillas.

Maponya told the paper: "The bottom line is one man, one vote, but there are a number of constitutional systems within which that can be accommodated. Everything is open to negotiation."

#### **Winnie Mandela Addresses De Klerk in Speech**

*MB1501102690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0913 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] Port Elizabeth Jan 15 SAPA—The killings at Uitenhage which resulted in a mass funeral of nine people at Kwanobuhle on Sunday [14 January] could not be seen in isolation from the state's repressive measures, a huge crowd at the funeral was told.

In a message to State President F.W. de Klerk, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC [African National Congress] leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said at Jabavu Stadium:

"That we are here today to comfort the bereaved families and bury our fallen heroes should be viewed as a challenge to the people's liberation movement, the ANC, because we know who is responsible for all this—the South African Government.

"Mr de Klerk wants the people to believe that after the release of our comrades this is what happens—the fanning of violence.

"We are saying to Mr de Klerk, that if he does not unban the ANC, release all political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, and allow Oliver Tambo and other comrades to come back home, we shall never negotiate."

To chants of "Viva Mandela" she said the ANC was going to negotiate "from a position of strength".

"When we say we are prepared to talk we mean negotiating the handing over of power from the hands of the minority regime to the people of South Africa—both black and white," Mrs Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela re-emphasised: Comrade Nelson Rholihlahla Mandela is coming back home".

Most of those buried at the weekend died during a clash on December 28 between Mass Democratic Movement supporters and the Ama-Afrika group.

Recently-released ANC veterans Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Govan Mbeki said in a message read at the funeral that political ideological differences were not resolved through physical force.

They appealed for calm.

Those buried were: Mr Fezile Msutu, 49, Mr Gladman Kopo, 34, Miss Nokuzola Kulati, 29, Mr Gladwell Belesi, 21, Mr Mfusi Mshubana, 27, Mr Daki Sowazi, 41, Mr Zoneli Mangesi, 20, Mr Mbuyioseli Jonas, 22, and Mr Mtuzimele Manziya, 37.

### Sisulu's Departure, Arrival in Zambia Noted

MB1501165590 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1600 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Former ANC [African National Congress] Secretary General Mr Walter Sisulu and seven formerly imprisoned ANC veterans have arrived in Zambia for talks with exiled leaders of the organization.

Prospects for opening negotiations with the South African Government will be high on the agenda.

The eight-man delegation was given a jubilant send-off by a crowd of supporters at Jan Smuts Airport this afternoon.

During the week-long visit, the group will meet other ANC office bearers and members based in Zambia.

After the Zambian talks, Mr Sisulu leaves for a 2-week tour of European capitals. He will also travel to Sweden to visit ailing ANC President Oliver Tambo.

### NEW NATION Interviews Walter Sisulu

MB1201121090 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English  
12-18 Jan 90 p 6

[Interview with ANC leader Walter Sisulu; date and place not given]

[Text] This year's January 8 statement issued by the ANC [African National Congress] takes on an added significance when viewed against the background of one of the most important advances made by the democratic movement—the release of ANC leader.

NEW NATION spoke to one of the leaders, Walter Sisulu, about his interpretation of some key aspects of the statement.

NEW NATION [NN]: What is your overall perception of the statement?

Walter Sisulu [WS]: I think it is a very sober statement, contrary to the criticism that has been levelled by the press. It opens up by really showing what advances have

been made and showing that the need of the moment is that everyone in South Africa should work for a democratic society. It is a call, therefore, not only to our own people, but to all South Africans, that peace and the happiness of South Africans is dependent on the extent to which we put our shoulder to the wheel.

It does shake other people when it seems to talk a tough language, which they think is contrary to the actions of [President F.W.] De Klerk. But it is far from that. It is simply indicating that, De Klerk, you haven't shown us sufficient progress, and you have no right now to tell us not to step up our struggle.

Your are simply beginning, and that beginning is not enough.

NN: The ANC's reiteration of its commitment to the armed struggle has been met with a measure of criticism from quarters which see it as being out of step with the spirit of negotiations. Can you comment?

WS: I have seen the criticism that people have made. But it is unavoidable that the armed struggle is part and parcel of the strategy of the ANC, and it is calling for the intensification of the struggle—both the political and armed struggle. The reason for that is clear. At a time when there is no tangible change, the correct thing to do is to intensify the struggle.

Its not surprising and not new, that on the eve of talking, people intensify the struggle. And the ANC is doing that.

NN: The ANC has, in its statement, reiterated its commitment to the principle of one person one vote and has re-emphasised its rejection of groups rights. Can you comment on this in the context of negotiation?

WS: We are fundamentally opposed to group rights. We believe it is contrary to any principle of democracy. We are thinking of a democratic South Africa. And South Africa can only be democratic if we have one man one vote whereby the country is governed by the people through their true representatives.

You cannot expect of us to tell people, you are not black—you cannot vote, or, you are not green—you cannot vote.

Our principle of one man one vote and our rejection of group rights is therefore non-negotiable.

NN: What is the significance of the ANC's position which states that the democratic forces cannot be expected to enter into a process of negotiations until they enjoy the same freedoms to engage in political activity as the National Party?

WS: This must not be read out of context. That is an emphasis, really, on the demands that have already been put forward in the Harare document, whereby we say that there can be no discussion on the question of negotiation when the organisations are banned, individuals are banned, the army is in the townships and our people are still in jail and detained.

NN: The statement calls for the strengthening of all the formations of the democratic movement. What is the significance of this call and what is the state of democratic organisations?

WS: The state of our organisation is a healthy one. You would have seen this from the mass demonstrations, the mass defiance, the rallies. But we cannot be satisfied. We are reaching a very decisive period, and that period requires that we must increase, at every turn, our support. We must consolidate, because only then can you force the enemy to negotiate.

When people talk about negotiations, let's say for equality—then the equality depends on what support or following you have, how much pressure can you exert. And only with a well-organised machinery and structures can you do that.

NN: The ANC talks of the having reached a stage where the transfer of power is now a question of practical political. How do you interpret this in terms of the progress the struggle against apartheid has made?

WS: We are facing a set of concrete conditions whereby negotiations become an issue—we have put it forward as our programme of action. So what we are talking about is negotiating the transfer of power. This signifies a great advance in our struggle.

We are no longer merely theorising but are talking in concrete terms of the transfer of power. We are calling on the government to negotiate the transfer of power.

#### Nujoma Reportedly 'Much Admired' Ceausescu

*MB1201173590 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English  
11 Jan 90 p 6*

[“Ceausescu Was Much Admired By Nujoma”; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Not everybody hated the “tyrant head” of Romania, the late and unlamented Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—and among whatever admirers he had he could at least name the man now leading Namibia to independence SWAPO’s [South-West African People’s Organization] Sam Nujoma.

A recent, December 6, 1989, German edition of the official Romanian newspaper, NEUER WEG, which has now reached South Africa, displays prominently on its front page a fulsome message of congratulation to Ceausescu from Nujoma.

This was shortly after the “re-election” of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, shortly before he was overthrown.

Translated the message reads:

“Dear Comrade General Secretary.

On the happy occasion of your unanimous re-election to the high office of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party by the XIV Party Congress I have the

great pleasure and the great honour to convey to you, in the name of SWAPO’s Central Committee and the fighting and victorious people of Namibia our most heartfelt congratulations together with wishes for new success and happiness.

Your unanimous re-election during the party congress proves the faith and the firm confidence you and your proven and long standing dynamic leadership enjoy among the broad masses of the people of Romania. Your efficient leadership has resulted in general success for Romania.

Romania and Namibia are friends and our people are connected by a long-standing friendship founded in mutual respect.

While you will continue to secure the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party I am convinced that our co-operation will intensify for the well-being of the states and the people of Namibia and Romania.

#### Trade Company Announces Joint Ties With Hungary

*MB1501192490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1809 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] Cape Town Jan 15 SAPA—A South African [SA] company specialising in international trade and finance services has announced a joint trading venture with Hungarian businessmen in Budapest.

The company, Headquarters International Ltd, said in a statement on Monday an office had been opened in Budapest and trade links with several other Eastern European countries were already being negotiated through the office.

Managing Director Justus Fourie said his company was part of the Headquarters Group of companies founded in 1986. The company operated from offices in Stellenbosch and Johannesburg, and traded with African and European countries.

Mr Fourie said the company initiated investigations into establishing trade links with Eastern Europe during the latter half of 1989.

A study showed Hungary, with its strategic position and stable and sophisticated infrastructure relative to other countries in the region, “to be very important to future trade between South Africa and Eastern Europe”.

“Headquarters International recently received a high-ranking Hungarian businessman/banker in our Stellenbosch office and we are...convinced there are exciting opportunities for South Africa and Hungary in greater economic cooperation,” Mr Fourie said.

“Especially encouraging was the absence of the old stereotype negativism towards SA business often encountered in other parts of the world.”

Mr Fourie said Headquarters International would shortly inform SA exporters and importers about the services the company could offer as a result of the new joint venture and that an important new announcement about Africa would follow soon.

The move follows Foreign Minister Pik Botha's recent visit to Hungary and talks he held with his counterpart there on upgrading relations between the two countries.

#### Mercenary Denard's Residence Permit Extended

MB1601110090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1045 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 16 SAPA—The Department of Home Affairs has extended the temporary residency permit of French mercenary Col Bob Denard by two weeks, to January 29.

A temporary residency permit was issued to Col Denard in December when he arrived in South Africa, after negotiations between France and South Africa.

Mr Denard applied last week to extend his residency permit.

Negotiations between France and South Africa about Mr Denard's future are still underway.

#### Institute Notes 1988-89 Agricultural Production

MB1501100790 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0900 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] The gross value of South Africa's agricultural production for the 1988-89 season has been set provisionally at 18 million rands [figure as heard]. The Directorate of Agricultural Economic Trends said that this was a 14-percent increase over the figure for the previous year.

The earnings from agriculture have increased by 15 percent to 6,749,000,000 rands. Maize production in particular had contributed to the increase. The value of maize production was estimated at 573 million rands.

The value of horticultural products was estimated at 3 billion rands and that of vegetables at 630 million rands.

#### Commentary Stresses Southern African Development

MB1201184090 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1550 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Station commentary; from the "Africa South" program]

[Text] The South African president, F.W. de Clerk, in his short period in office so far, has not only concentrated his energies on internal reform in South Africa but has also stressed the need for development and cooperation in southern Africa.

He did so again this week on a visit to Transkei, one of the four former national states in South Africa which are

now sovereign, independent states. Closer cooperation between countries in southern Africa, he said, was the only way that the region would be able to maintain itself in the international community at a decisive period in its history.

Put very simply, sub-Saharan Africa is one region in the world where everything is getting worse. Its total gross domestic product—that is, what it produces—currently amounts to about \$120 million, roughly the same as Belgium. In Belgium, however, the gross domestic product is divided among 3 million people, compared with sub-Saharan Africa's 450 million people.

According to a recent World Bank report, the average annual rate of return on investment in sub-Saharan Africa has plummeted from 30.7 percent, in the immediate postindependence period in its history, to 2.5 percent in the 80's. The net rate of return between 1980 and 1987 was 6.2 percent. This compares with 36.5 percent for Southeast Asia, for example.

Topography, population patterns, and undiversified import-dependent economies which are short of skilled labor, the report says, may be part of the problem. But, these are nothing compared with fundamentally poor management and bad policies. On this, the banks pull their punches.

Africa is not competitive in the international marketplace, not because the market place treats it unfairly but because African countries have chronically mismanaged their economies and [word indistinct] is at the root [words indistinct] the bank sounds the warning that, unless there are changes, the continent will cease to be part of the modern world, with which it will be less and less able to compete as technology renders even its mineral wealth superfluous.

#### 13 Jan Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB1301084590

[Editorial Report]

#### SATURDAY STAR

'Action' Needed on Black Education—Joe Latakgomo says in his page 8 "Write On!" column in Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English on 13 January that "for years now, we have heard the refrain. It comes as soon as the results for black matriculants are announced—from late December into about the middle of February. It has been described as the education crisis, the tragedy of South Africa and other disasters. This year was no different." "I must say right at the beginning it is only right and proper people should be concerned about what is happening in black education." "But, and this is the tragedy, once all the debates have gone their way, the problem is relegated to the back-burner." "Unless the concern is sustained, we will be singing the same refrain

this time next year. Action is needed to save us from a tragedy which is reaching alarming proportions. Not slogans."

**Legal System 'Criminalises Ordinary People'**—A second editorial on the same page by Max du Preez in his "The Left Stuff" column states "If harrassment by the State is a measure by which the success of a newspaper in South Africa is to be judged then VRYE WEEKBLAD must be one of the most successful newspapers in history." Du Preez, a journalist who is currently on trial on charges relating to the emergency media regulations and who has also been subpoenaed to testify in connection with his articles on "police hit squads," then says "I am not really a criminal. I merely represent a newspaper that wants to tell as much of the truth as possible." "That is what is so terrible about our laws, I know now: It criminalises ordinary people. I now have a criminal record—a six-month suspended sentence under the Internal Security Act—because I wanted to do my job as a journalist properly." He adds: "The people of South Africa are also in the process of standing up for their rights and getting somewhere with their efforts. While we are at it, please let us save a thought for a free press and for journalists who only want to inform their fellow citizens of the true situation in the country."

#### THE CITIZEN

**Government Should End Transportation Strike**—"A great deal of argument is going on about the bloody clash at Germiston Station between South African Transport Services [SATS] strikers and non-strikers which has left nine men dead and more than 60 injured," states Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 12 January in a page 6 editorial. Although the Democratic Party has called for a commission of inquiry into the violence, "without minimising the seriousness of the station clash, we don't think a commission is necessary." THE CITIZEN then expresses concern about this strike-related violence and asks "Can you imagine such violence occurring in Britain, or in the United States, or in any other country where industrial disputes take place and are settled without serious loss of life?" "It is time that union and management saw that it ended, since neither dare let it go on."

#### CAPE TIMES

**Transportation Strike Approaching 'National Disaster'**—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 11 January in a page 8 editorial notes "It is with no joy—rather, with a sense of defeat—that we have seen our warning of three weeks ago about the growing pattern of violence in the SATS strike come bloodily true at Germiston station and in incidents elsewhere." "No-one involved in the strike has emerged with clean hands from the wave of violence," and "it is time someone in Government at the highest level takes a hand, as we urged last month. Violence has a way of spilling over, and the strike already threatens to inflame emotions in other areas. If the

situation is not yet a 'national disaster', as the Democratic Party described it yesterday, then it certainly has the potential to become one if nothing is done soon."

**Fight Against Inflation Requires 'Radical Changes'**—A second editorial on the same page warns that "Just when a higher gold price and an improvement in the political outlook augured well for a more sanguine view of the economy, a savage new round of price increases threatens to make 1990 one of the toughest years ever for most consumers. Tragically for the less well off, basic goods and services are among the worst hit. Food prices which have already doubled since 1985 are set to leap almost immediately by another 15%, electricity is up about 14%, and a host of similar rises are in the pipeline." "Inflation has indeed become a lethal state of mind in South Africa, deserving of the high priority for attack accorded by the State President. It will not be broken without radical changes in the examples set by commerce, industry and of course, government."

#### 15 Jan Press Review

MB1501105490

[Editorial Report]

#### SUNDAY STAR

**'Blame Game' in Black Education Must End**—Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 14 January in a page 12 editorial says "Back to school and a life of learning is the rallying cry for thousands of black matriculants who failed last year. It's a call which should apply not only to school pupils. Politicians, educationists, government officials and the general public could all benefit from understanding the lessons that must be learnt from the dismal matric results." "If any good at all is to emerge from the present black education crisis, this futile blame game must end." "We are still a long way from equalising educational opportunities, but the scale of the developmental challenges facing the nation is starting to drive home the message that unless we pull together, we haven't a hope of achieving success." "John Kenneth Galbraith once said that people of privilege would always risk their complete destruction rather than surrender any material part of their advantage. Let us hope that when it comes to black education and a host of other pressing issues, South African whites can recognise the stupidity of sticking to such an attitude."

**Negotiations Not Yet 'Sensible'**—Jon Qwela, in his "Just Jon" column in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 14 January on page 15, examines the question of who is an "African." "You do not necessarily have to be indigenous or have a 'black' pigmentation to be African. Africans are all those who offer their total allegiance to Africa, and are prepared to live and serve under an African government elected to a single-chamber parliament by the majority of Africans." "Whites in particular will have to commit racial suicide, in effect slay the race monster they themselves created,

because what we are now talking about here is a completely non-racial solution, and the foundation to a truly just and democratic society." "Since whites have not reached the stage where they are willing to for-go their misconceptions about the 'differences of races', there can never be any suggestion that negotiations now could ever be sensible. We are still where we started—a society of the conquered and the conquerors. There has been no treaty signed between us to ratify the conquest, so the basis for any negotiations must be the restoration of the land to the Africans, and their non-negotiable right to self-determination."

### THE STAR

**Budget Cuts Presage 'Buoyant' Economy**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 15 January in a page 16 editorial states "Indications from official sources of large cutbacks in defence expenditure in the coming Budget must be enthusiastically supported for three reasons. First, such cuts underline a vital political process of demilitarisation which can contribute greatly to eliminating racial friction. Second, a drastic reduction in defence spending could help achieve a better distribution of public funds so that money becomes available for more pressing services. And third, cuts in expenditure are an important precursor to cuts in taxation, which will help free the economy for much-needed growth." "Cuts in defence spending are being matched by cuts in road-building and in other spheres. The philosophy that gives South Africa its best chance of overcoming the pressures of poverty and population growth may at last be getting some backing. It is important to stress that public expenditure may have to rise in crisis areas such as black education and housing. But overall cuts should ensure a net saving in State spending. This will promote a more buoyant economy, hopefully fuelled by tax cuts."

**National Legal System 'Catch-22' Stuff**—"Protecting the image of justice in South Africa is Catch-22 stuff," opines a second editorial on the same page. "Increasingly, legal authorities are realising that the mere fact that judges and magistrates are white and the majority of accused black can create (and has indeed created) wrong perceptions about justice, SA [South African]-style." "The solution? It was offered by the chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council last week: Appoint black magistrates and judges." However, "blacks will not readily accept such appointments so long as they have to administer discriminatory laws. So the desirable goal cannot be reached until the Government has routed out all apartheid legislation, which the Government is not yet prepared to do. Result: deadlock. The cause of fair and impartial justice pays the price."

### SUNDAY TIMES

**Government, Black Opposition Must 'Reciprocate'**—Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 14 January in a page 16 editorial states: "The stage is set. All the main players are in position, except for one towering figure, waiting in the wings. When Nelson Mandela takes

his rightful place on the South African political stage, an entrance that now seems certain within weeks rather than months, the curtain will rise." "President F.W. de Klerk, as the man who will release Mr Mandela, has the initiative. He is fully aware of the accelerating momentum of the reform process he has skilfully directed for the past six months. Having gone this far, one must assume he is prepared to fulfil the expectations his Government has created. President de Klerk can no longer fudge on key issues such as removal of Group Areas." "Black political movements, the ANC [African National Congress] in particular, must reciprocate, trade-off by trade-off. As its opening gambit, the ANC has to present a credible and realistic policy, one that assuages white fears, inspires white confidence in a multiracial future, and allows for constructive negotiation." "It will take years of painful reconstruction to restore our society to a semblance of normality, with equitable education, wealth, opportunities—including equal political rights—for South Africans of all races."

### SOWETAN

**Defense Cuts Release Funds for Education**—"The Government is about to disband elite units of the South African Defence Force, a move that could give the country large amounts of money to spend where it is most needed," notes Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 15 January in a page 6 editorial. "All the intended cutbacks in the Defence Budget will contribute a 25 percent cut in the military budget of a staggering R10 billion [10 billion rand]. If Mr F.W. de Klerk and his administration are serious in moving the country onto the road of significant reform, the money should be used in areas that desperately need such funds," including education. "Instead of engaging in another expensive measure to import skilled workers from Eastern Europe, the number of suitably educated South African children could serve our purposes well." "We strongly urge" Minister of Education Stoffel van der Merwe "to suggest to his colleagues that the money released from the enormous military budget should be spent on education as a priority."

### TRANSVALER

**Decision To Grant Jesse Jackson Visa 'Welcomed'**—"The decision to grant Rev Jesse Jackson a visa should be welcomed," states Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans in a page 6 editorial on 10 January. "Hopefully Reverend Jackson and others like him will come to understand that the reform process did begin in the second part of 1989 and that it has come a long way. Now they will also begin to understand that it was not the result of foreign pressure but rather the necessary and spontaneous result of the state's battles with its policy and its responsibility."

**Black Violence in Natal 'Daily Occurrence'**—As the facts about the transportation strike violence at Germiston Station become known, "a picture of barbaric acts of violence unfolds which causes one to tremble" notes a

page 6 editorial of Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 11 January. "This is an example of the violence which is a daily reality in the black residential areas of Natal. Because that quasi-civil war is taking place at a distance from us, the average white is evidently not prepared to admit its existence. However, the events in a white residential area compel us to take note of this unpleasant reality."

### RAPPORT

**Mandela May Get Negotiations Under Way**—"While Mr Mandela's inevitable release becomes more acceptable, there is increased interest in what his stand will be as a free leader," states Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans in a page 14 editorial on 14 January. "Statements have been released by local and exiled black leaders emphasizing that he would have to be part of a collective leadership." "The question of Mandela's position is of interest. As a leader with specific qualifications and a specific stature, it is quite conceivable that he would have the courage of his convictions to get the negotiations process going."

### 16 Jan Press Review

MB1601124790

[Editorial Report]

### THE CITIZEN

**Government Tries To Divide ANC Into Two Camps**—"Mr Sisulu may be 'moderate', depending on how you define the word, but his organisation, which remains committed to the 'armed struggles', is not," points out the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 15 January. "By dividing the ANC [African National Congress] into 'moderates' and 'militants', Mrs Thatcher feels she can consult the first and refuse to talk to the second, without backtracking on her description of the ANC as a terrorist organisation." THE CITIZEN further declares the ANC "may not have staged attacks on civilians, in shopping centres, in Wimpy Bars and other restaurants, or in the streets for some time, but its bombers are still active." Therefore, "it is not easy to understand why the government soft-pedals these incidents and why it does not demand a cessation of violence by the ANC, since it cannot create a climate for peaceful negotiation while this violence goes on. Perhaps it thinks it can split the ANC into two camps. We doubt it."

### THE STAR

**RSA Must Accommodate Transkei Problems**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 16 January says in a page 14 editorial all signs suggest relations between [the Republic of] South Africa [RSA] and Transkei have "deteriorated disastrously and that both sides are contributing to the trouble." "It is in southern Africa's interests that Transkei becomes part of the negotiation for black-white harmony in South Africa, especially because its independence remains unrecognised, its economy is in chronic need of artificial support and its

population associates itself with the goals of South Africa's blacks. Because that is so, it is in South Africa's interests to try to accommodate those problems and goals within the settlement agenda—without allowing feathers to fly."

### BUSINESS DAY

**Mandela Can Proclaim New Charter**—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 16 January states in a page 6 editorial: "Assuming that Nelson Mandela has been correctly reported as expressing views in conflict with the Freedom Charter's promise to nationalise mines, banks and 'monopoly industry', he is not alone. He may take comfort from being part of a worldwide revision of socialist thinking in the direction of the market economy for which he reportedly expressed some support." Therefore, "if Mandela no longer believes in what has mockingly been called the ministerial ownership of the means of production, he can play a transforming role in the life of the nation by proclaiming a new charter which will, by its defence of the idea of liberty, deserves the name of freedom."

### SOWETAN

**RSA Cannot Control Transkei 'Monster'**—A page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 16 January says it "appears things got sour" between South Africa and Transkei when President F.W. de Klerk suggested it was time the Transkei went back to civilian rule. "Really, the puppet was now talking back. It was even suggesting that it would conduct a referendum to determine if Transkeians wanted to be part of South Africa again." "Frankenstein can no longer control the monster he created."

### THE NAMIBIAN

**'In-Camera' Sittings of Future Parliament 'Unacceptable'**—Editor Gwen Lister writes in her "Political Perspective" column on page 6 of Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English on 12 January she is "concerned about a tendency among political leadership to discuss national matters 'in-camera'" and believes it is important "to break with the past" in this respect. "For too long now, Namibians have been ruled by a foreign power, with no accountability and no consultation. While we fully acknowledge, and accept, that Namibians have at last exercised their self-determination and voted for the government of their choice, their continued support must not merely be taken for granted." Lister also says the "provision for 'in-camera' sittings of the future parliament, to be known as the National Assembly, is totally unacceptable."

**Leadership 'Reporting-Back' Needed**—The page 7 editorial states: "While progress appears to have been speedy on the part of the leaders framing a constitution for an independent Namibia, they must not lose sight of the fact that there is a great deal of confusion among the people of this country; something which will only be

solved if there is constant and honest accountability and reporting-back on matters vital to the future of every Namibian."

### TIMES OF NAMIBIA

**'Top-Heavy' Governmental Structure**—"How could SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] possibly explain their top-heavy governmental structure to the people, except by an open admission that it operates on a reward system?" declares the page 2 editorial in Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 12 January. "SWAPO announced a cabinet of sixteen members, plus a prime minister, each with its own deputy," and each deputy "comes complete with a Permanent Political Secretary." "Can a country, which has not yet proved itself to be socio-economically viable, start its career as an independent country carrying such a financial burden? It is without doubt the case that an independent Namibia would need a greater top structure than under the colonial rule, but do we deserve this?"

### \* Parallels Between Gorbachev, De Klerk Noted

34000180A Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English  
29 Oct 89 p 10

[Article by David Breier: "Two Men on a Tightrope To Reform"]

[Text] If South African-Soviet relations should thaw sufficiently for President Mikhail Gorbachev to meet President F.W. de Klerk, there could be a remarkable meeting of minds between the founders of perestroika and Pretoriastroika.

There are strong parallels between the two men—both in who they are and what they are hoping to achieve, according to Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute for Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University.

Both are lawyers by training. They belong to the same generation—Mr de Klerk is 53 and Mr Gorbachev is 57.

This is important because it means both lack the paranoia of their predecessors, who were scarred by great conflicts of the past.

In South Africa's case, leaders such as Mr P.W. Botha and Mr John Vorster cut their political teeth while in opposition. They were part of the Afrikaner struggle for political power in South Africa and could never forget the bitterness of the past.

In the Soviet Union, the nightmare experiences of World War 2 forged the defensive and suspicious mindset of men such as Leonid Brezhnev, Dr Nel believes.

But both Mr de Klerk and Mr Gorbachev entered politics well after these struggles had been won. This might go a long way to explain the ease with which they are prepared to relax old dogmas.

Both men have taken on similar daunting tasks: profound reform in their respective countries without sacrificing power.

Mr de Klerk has undertaken to broaden the democratic base of South Africa to include blacks without the whites losing final control of the country. It means reforming apartheid without whites losing power. Mr Botha tried it before him—and didn't even come close.

Mr Gorbachev has undertaken to open up the Soviet economy and allow freedom of expression, without the Communist Party losing final control of the country.

The great problem that faces both men, however, is whether apartheid and communism can survive reform. Or will they both be swept away into history by the forces unleashed by their reforms?

Both men may have released long bottled-up forces which they may not be able to control.

Theoretically it is possible for the National Party [NP] to pull it off. But there is nothing in what Mr de Klerk says or does that will convince me he can really broaden the democratic base and still maintain full and final control," Dr Nel says.

Mr de Klerk began his new era before he had even been sworn in, by allowing the first of the mass marches to take place in Cape Town despite the state of emergency and the law that prohibits demonstrations near Parliament.

Many more such marches have taken place, and Mr de Klerk has expressed satisfaction at their peaceful outcome.

Mr Botha in his day released the occasional political prisoner on a trial basis—usually accompanied by a gesture to appease the far Right.

But Mr de Klerk wasted no time or fancy tricks in releasing unconditionally eight political prisoners and allowing today's massive welcoming rally.

He has openly admitted to discussing their release with Nelson Mandela, whose own release could be in the offing.

Mr de Klerk's stated goal is the creation of a climate in which authentic leaders can take part in negotiations for a new constitution that will have the support of most South Africans and the credibility of the world at large.

Like Mr Gorbachev, he has taken huge risks and has needed strong nerve.

Mr. Gorbachev has admitted to making mistakes in his perestroika and glasnost programmes. He may have attempted too much too soon by tackling reform simultaneously on the political and economic level.

Mr de Klerk also appears to be tackling political and economic reform together. He has promised a major

shakeup in the economy including trimming the Public Service—something that could antagonise whites on the gravy train.

Both reformers are assailed by powerful forces on the Left and Right.

Mr Gorbachev has his Boris Yeltsin and the intellectual strata keeping up the pressure for reform.

Mr de Klerk has his rival, Mr Barend du Plessis, who regards himself as the champion of reform and could pounce on any failure. He also has to contend with the Democratic Party, which made advances in the recent elections.

Mr Gorbachev has massive agitation for more autonomy in the ethnic republics. Mr de Klerk faces the Mass Democratic Movement, which is fighting to end apartheid and to abolish the autonomy of its ethnic homelands.

On the Right, Mr Gorbachev has purged many of his conservatives, but he still has Yegor Ligachev. Mr de Klerk is more fortunate. The Conservatives purged themselves from the NP in 1982 and he has taken leave of them.

But Mr de Klerk may not be able to purge the conservative in his own heart. Before he became NP leader in February, he had a neo-Verwoerdian reputation. The swiftness with which he dispersed this caught many by surprise.

But already some signs of caution are beginning to set in. Ministers are talking more loudly of the need for the ANC [African National Congress] to renounce violence—and not merely commit themselves to peace—before negotiations with them can take place.

Mutterings in the Nat establishment that negotiations can take place with other black leaders, such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, are growing louder.

Mr de Klerk puts the onus for lifting the state of emergency and unbanning the ANC squarely on the ANC's shoulders. The ANC puts it on his.

Sceptics are suggesting Mr de Klerk is more concerned with out-flanking the ANC's negotiation strategy and trying to capture the international moral high ground, possibly splitting the ANC forces in the process.

Mr de Klerk and his Ministers have over the past week or two spelt out more clearly than ever that they are wedded to the group concept and that each group must exercise its political rights as a group—with room for an open or nonracial group.

Mr de Klerk has many tricks up his sleeve yet—such as relaxing media regulations, scrapping separate amenities and, of course, releasing Mr Mandela.

But once he has received all the credit for these and other reforms, he may find it difficult to maintain the

momentum when he tries to crash through the barrier of lifting the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], and abolishing apartheid laws—all of them.

And like Mr Gorbachev, he has no intention of reforming himself out of power, while his enemies regard that as the only worthwhile reform.

#### \* De Klerk Speaks at Export Achievement Banquet

*3400(259C Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 21 Nov 89 p 3*

[Article by Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] Increased exports were the best way SA [South Africa] had to generate funds to meet its international commitment in terms of the foreign debt standstill agreement, President F.W. de Klerk said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking at the State President's Export Achievement banquet, De Klerk said SA previously relied on a regular inflow of foreign capital to realize a higher rate of economic growth, but this had virtually dried up as a result of international action.

"In fact, SA has become a net exporter of capital, to its own detriment," he said.

Glass SA was named the overall winner at the function.

De Klerk said vast amounts of foreign exchange were needed to pay for essential imports of capital goods which constituted about 85 percent of SA's total imports.

#### Determined

To a large extent, these imports represented high technology machinery which was not yet manufactured in SA and in many cases was essential to sustain the level of activity in the manufacturing sector, he said.

"Economic growth is fundamental to our success in building a new SA".

Much of this economic growth could best be achieved through a determined effort to increase exports, De Klerk said.

African countries were in need of a strong and growing regional market. "SA can, no doubt, be the kingpin in the development and expansion of this market, and thus contribute most significantly to the economic development of our region on the continent," he said.

Corporate management must become export oriented, its marketing strategy making provision for production for the export market on a continuous basis.

Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr said at the banquet that Glass SA was totally committed to

export and had been successful in developing new markets and maintaining existing ones under difficult international circumstances, Sapa reports.

It currently exported a range of 10 products to 23 countries worldwide.

The floating trophy, a medallion and the State President's Export Achievement Certificate were presented to R. Lubner.

The winners of the various categories were: Mining—Ferrometals Ltd of Witbank, a subsidiary of Samancor Ltd; Agriculture—Valor Central Cooperative Ltd of Port Elizabeth, which processes citrus fruits; Services—Sherwood Export CC of Johannesburg, a firm that is totally reliant on exports of steel, chemicals and manufactured products; and, Manufacturing—Highveld Steel and Vanadium Corporation Ltd, on Witbank.

Durr said Glass SA's export sales had almost doubled over the past three years, and it had been a regular exporter of glass and mirrors for the past 20 years.

"In the face of strong native and foreign competition, Glass SA maintained its market share in some of the choice overseas markets," Durr said.

The overall winner last year was Firestone SA (Pty) Ltd.

\* London Group: Nation Losing Sanctions War  
34000271A Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English  
17 Nov 89 p 24

[Article by Stephen Orpen: "SA Losing the Sanctions War—Report"]

[Text] The current level of sanctions is distorting the South African [SA] Economy but is not as damaging, or as unwelcome, to the SA authorities, as outsiders suppose.

Explaining this in a new report, Industry Under Siege, the London-based Research Support and Marketing (RS & M) group says: "On the positive side (the sanctions and disinvestment campaign) forces structural industrial changes which may be to the country's long-term benefit, causing industry to be rationalised into fewer, larger, more competitive production units."

The report says the restructuring presents opportunities for foreign investors willing to take the political risk on lucrative financial terms.

"Thus Taiwanese participation is under discussion for the new stainless steel project of Highveld and Samancor, in return for preferential customer treatment.

Further foreign finance is needed for future public sector investment and will certainly be sought for major mining investments in the nineties."

The report says, however, foreign monopolies will not be made available until SA has reformed sufficiently, while maintaining stability to reactivate its economy.

Despite government denials, SA is in the process of losing the economic war declared on her by the international community, says the RS & M group.

The SA economy is now in a box—from which is growing level of "smart" money is somehow finding its way overseas. The rest is buying up foreign-owned assets in SA, or being invested in property and the JSE [Johannesburg Stock Exchange], says the group.

"There is insufficient industrial investment for the long-term benefit of the country, nor will there be sufficient until there is clear political direction which industry insists must be towards reform."

South Africa's weakened economy has become extremely sensitive to political decisions, with no "fat" to serve as a buffer against more international sanctions—particularly financial pressures.

The report, which runs to some 250 pages, says a new political framework has become paramount in preventing a continued slide into Third World economic chaos.

"By the new year it is anticipated that the world will be complaining about the obduracy of State President Mr F. W. de Klerk whose likely delaying tactics will be designed not to prevent reform but to secure the best bargain he can for the Afrikaners," says the analysts.

\* Anglican Bishops Cautiously Praise De Klerk  
34000274A Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English  
1 Dec 89 p 8

[Article: "Bishops Praise De Klerk But There Is a Question Mark"]

[Text] Recent developments in South Africa like peace marches, the release of long term political prisoners and the opening of beaches, although welcomed, had to be seen against a backdrop of fears that expectations would not be met.

Also there was the continuing state of emergency, death squads, refugees dying on electric border fences and the harassment of the clergy and the media.

This is contained in a statement issued by the synod of Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa which met in Cape Town yesterday.

The Anglican bishops of Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and South Africa said while the developments in South Africa since the assumption of office by the new State President, Mr F. W. de Klerk, were encouraging, the bishops were deeply concerned of the consequences if the South African Government failed to live up to the expectations it was creating.

"De Klerk's decision to allow protest marches, to release eight long-term political prisoners, to concede May 1 as a public holiday and to open beaches to all races have been praiseworthy and are warmly welcomed," the statement said.

However, they warned that De Klerk's actions appeared to be "ad hoc responses to internal and foreign pressure and not part of a comprehensive plan to dismantle apartheid."

The bishops said that while many in the white community and some foreign leaders speculated excitedly about changes to come, the people in most of their congregations experienced no change in their daily lives and struggled to keep up hope for the future in the face of "an apartheid machine which continues to grind on relentlessly."

Giving examples of this, the bishops said there was no end to the terrible suffering which had been brought on the people of the Eastern Cape by "Grand Apartheid."

There was also the failure of police and government prosecutors to act against the violence of police riot squads.

The details of death squad activities emerging from different sources had a ring of truth to them and were consistent with speeches by Cabinet Ministers that the security forces would eliminate terrorists wherever they were found, the statement said.

There was also the continued harassment of clergy and the media and while the Government made only incomplete and ad hoc gestures, the distrust between black and white communities of which De Klerk complained would continue.

"The Government cannot afford to play the game of divide and rule. The unity of all of South Africa's peoples is essential to the future peace of the country," the statement said.

The bishops said if De Klerk wanted to promote a climate of trust there had to be purposeful action to negotiate a comprehensive timetable for the phasing out of apartheid and the introduction of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

They pointed out, albeit reluctantly, that economic pressures on South Africa would remain necessary.

They said they had discussed with experts the argument that the various forms of economic pressure inhibited growth and development but the fact remained that the damage to the economy and to the whole of society inflicted by apartheid far outweighed that done by economic pressure for the end of apartheid.

They said there could be no sound economic growth in a society faced with the threat of civil war and recent evidence in Eastern Europe showed there could be no vibrant economy in an undemocratic society.

The bishops aligned themselves with a statement by the Southern African Bishops Conference made in September this year where the South African Government was urgently requested to switch off the electric border fences between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the Republic.

"We believe that any form of border control that is intended to take human life is inhuman, unchristian and unacceptable," the statement said.

They also requested that any form of harassment like the rounding up of refugees and the shooting of fugitives in the Kruger Park be stopped.

Army and police should also restrain themselves at road blocks while dealing with refugees or illegal immigrants.

They also urged the South African Government and the United Nations through the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to embark on immediate negotiations with a view to securing refugee status for the Mozambicans moving to South Africa for shelter.

Forced repatriation of about 3,500 people a month should also be stopped.

The bishops' statement ended with what they called a partial list of immediate steps which they believed the Government should take. These included:

- To reincorporate Peelton east into South Africa, reinstate the pensions of South African citizens from the area and pressure the Ciskei authorities to release the leaders of the community.
- To appoint a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the existence of police death squads.
- To lift the state of emergency, including regulations covering the media and the removal of all restrictions on nonviolent political expression.
- To unban all political parties and release remaining political prisoners and detainees. It was essential that Nelson Mandela be released because he was the one leader who could bring together a wide variety of political groups.

#### \* Tutu on Timetable for Change To End Sanctions

*34000879A Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English Oct 89 pp 64, 66-67*

[Interview with Archbishop Desmond Tutu by Paul Bell]

[Text] The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, was for many years regarded by most white South Africans as a tough man whose priesthood was incidental to his politics, as anti-white, and stridently anti-South African. Blacks held a diametrically opposite view. In 1984 he won the Nobel Peace Prize: his detractors regarded it as a travesty, his supporters as just reward. A year later, both sides began to see a side they hadn't expected when he unequivocally condemned all violence—including that which had taken so grim a hold within the black community—and even

physically intervened to save an alleged informer's life. Since he was appointed Archbishop in 1986, both opponents and allies have been made to recognise that he is a man of deep spirituality. That, too, was a surprise.

Over the past two years, Tutu has grown hugely in stature, to the point where he must already be considered one of the most significant South Africans of our time. He has come to dominate the defiance campaign, to set its moral tone, and give it a shape and feel that are considerably different to previous campaigns, which often did more to polarise people than to break down apartheid.

He now even commands respect from those who still differ sharply from him on, for instance, the question of sanctions. As is clear in this interview with Paul Bell, he is as committed as ever to the cause of black liberation, but his actions, while completely uncompromising, hold a parallel possibility of reconciliation.

[LEADERSHIP] The peace marches through Cape Town and other cities have their origins in the churches' Standing for Truth campaign and the Mass Democratic Movement [MDM]'s defiance campaign. What was the background to the church campaign, and to what extent has it co-operated with the other?

[Tutu] The government's banning of organisations in February 1988 forces the churches to take a stand, starting with the march to Parliament, during which I and several other church leaders were arrested. The churches were being pushed into the vacuum created by government's action. This was a highwater mark for interdenominational co-operation. After our release we said we hoped this was not going to be a flash in the pan, that we were now going to try and have a sustained movement.

The Standing of the Truth campaign was born at a church convention later last year. We were saying we were going to have to put our bodies where our mouths were, in a manner of speaking. When restrictions and bannings escalated, people said it was important that the churches especially show they really mean business when they say they are non-violent. We showed that the non-violent option actually can work, especially to those who might be inclined to use the other option. There was a convergence with the MDM, which decided at about the same time that a defiance campaign should happen.

[LEADERSHIP] Central to this is a concept with its origins in passive resistance but which is now defined as non-violent direct action. How do you define it?

[Tutu] Part of the new nomenclature is an effort to underline the positive nature of what you're doing; that it is not a reactive, negative thing. It is not so much a defiance or disobedience. Rather it is something that is positive, an obedience of God's laws when these come into conflict with man's laws. It is not passively doing nothing. Certain things are direct action, but it is action meant to be non-violent.

Like going onto the beaches. You wouldn't call that passive, but you accept the principle that, for example, you don't regard your adversary as an enemy but as a potential friend to be won over. You do not taunt people and you have a very profound respect for law, which is why they obey God's law.

[LEADERSHIP] Day to day, and event to event, how have you defined your personal role?

[Tutu] I think there was a buildup. We were all agreed as church leaders that we were now in an active phase, starting in February last year. The election gave us another point at which to highlight our concerns. And a number of things happened. We had fewer people under restrictions and were therefore able to make decisions fairly quickly. When the restricted persons "unrestricted" themselves, the churches offered to support them and to take appropriate action if anything happened to them. We were no longer just going to mouth pious resolutions.

I suppose it has been a help to have been the Archbishop of Cape Town, and to have been involved to some extent from 1976 until now. But we haven't sat down and said, now you are the head of the campaign and here are the rules of the game. I have been very fortunate in that the black community and the church community in this diocese have been incredibly supportive, particularly when, for example, Mr [Adriaan] Vlok tried to create a wedge between me and the Cathedral and Anglicans. I have been exceedingly fortunate in the calibre of people around me. And the Cathedral's support has been strategically quite crucial.

[LEADERSHIP] Nevertheless, your being the Archbishop has surely given you a certain freedom. A secular political leader has to secure mandates. You at least are able to say yours is from God and that you answer to your conscience. That has surely given a certain definition to your role.

[Tutu] I believe you're quite right, that I do probably operate on the basis that I have greater freedom of movement to some extent than a political leader. Church leaders do consult with the people, but they have recognised our autonomy as church persons, that our ultimate responsibility is to God, and they respect our understanding of the imperatives that God gives. Not that we are infallible. Not that we would ride roughshod. I heard the advice of community leaders, and I also have my own advisors, the senior persons in the diocese, the dean, archdeacons, and the other bishops. I often test things out against them, although I don't always take their advice.

[LEADERSHIP] To what degree have you been able to maintain your autonomy, in terms of whatever intervention you may decide on in the political sphere?

[Tutu] I try. One has to speak very modestly in this area because it can sound hoity-toity and arrogant. But I have usually said that, while I obviously need to take account

of the advice and views I get from other people, my own understanding is that I have to be true to what I believe are the demands of the Gospel, the demands of the Kingdom. It is remarkable, the extent to which community leaders have insisted that we retain this particular right. They realise that we are jealous of it. You saw a little bit of the controversy over the flag in Durban, with [the Roman Catholic] Archbishop Hurley. There is a danger that people might think we were being co-opted, or taken over by other groups. But while we try as far as humanly possible to retain this autonomy, it is relative, not absolute. In the end we are answerable to God through the Church.

[LEADERSHIP] What do you think have been the effects of the march on the political atmosphere in the country?

[Tutu] It depends on which side you are on. You could say: "Here is a government that is giving in," or: "Here is a government that is allowing peaceful protest to happen, and so it's a feather in the cap for that government." For me, it clearly demonstrated two very important things.

First, that government had failed, despite all its repression, to knock the stuffing out of the people. It is remarkable. You stand up on a Friday in a church and say: "Let's march on Wednesday." You don't know how many people are going to pitch up. Then you get this incredible turnout. And a turnout of people who are fundamentally disciplined. Then you say: "Now let's keep quiet. To demonstrate, we must have discipline." And they keep quiet. That is the one important thing.

The second is that, despite all that has happened, people actually care about a non-racial South Africa. It brings tears to your eyes. When you looked at the concourse that day and you said that people would hold hands, and you saw the kaleidoscope of colour and that people were just people, you saw it was actually for real. We are willing to be a country that, despite all that has conspired to work to the contrary, will be a country that counts. Because we are people.

It was a wonderful thing to be vindicated in the way that we were. And to be vindicated also in the manner of saying that, if you keep the police away, people will almost always be peaceful. When you look at the numbers of people involved in Johannesburg and Cape Town, it is overwhelming evidence that people are committed to peace and non-violence, even when they don't seem to have had any specific training.

When Allan (Boesak) said to the people: "Brothers and sisters, this march is over," the Parade, which had been chock-a-block, was clear within minutes. We went back to the Cathedral and said: "Let's sit down and just be quiet and just say thank you to God." We recognised that it could have gone so very badly wrong. And yet I myself am just thrilled at the vindication of the people.

[LEADERSHIP] It seems very unlikely that this could have happened in the P.W. Botha era. Is there, do you believe, anything different about F. W. deKlerk?

[Tutu] We've got to say yes. We have to remember, though, that it was under his Acting State Presidency that they used dogs and whips and teargas and even threatened to use live ammunition, to stop people going onto beaches. We are seeing at the present time the fundamental schizophrenia that affects South Africa. Government spokespersons often say they really don't care what the world thinks, and then they behave in a way that demonstrates that they care very, very much.

I think there is a difference in style. I still want to see the evidence that there is a difference in substance. We still have people in detention; we've still got a state of emergency which has done nothing except to provide a screen behind which the police have been able to carry out their brutality. In terms of helping to bring about peace and calm, they themselves admit it. When you say to them, lift the state of emergency, they say, "The minute we lift it, then unrest will happen again." We've had nearly four years of emergency and it has not helped to get rid of the root causes.

If President DeKlerk was able to reprieve seven people [on death row], why not 10? Why not all of them? If he could give that kind of amnesty, why not a clear demonstration that we are moving in a different direction? Now you may say he has to go cautiously. The trouble is, we have had far too many of those wonderful promises of "adapt or die", and we all went into ecstasies and discovered that what we were going to do was die to be dyed. [as published]

[LEADERSHIP] People have been urged to "give F. W. a chance". How do you respond to that notion?

[Tutu] I say I've heard this before. The business community said it after the Carlton conference, when they were dazzled by P.W.'s nifty footwork. One heard it in the referendum campaign: people said this guy seems to be wanting to move; give him a chance. When others said, this constitution P.W. is putting to you is fatally flawed, people aid no, no, no, no! Give him a chance.

We've never said we wanted everything. In 1980 we said all government need do was one or two things to demonstrate dramatically to the people that it was serious about change, not reform. We are not impressed by reformists. To talk about reform is to put us off right from the beginning. What we want is not reform, it is change.

Most of the white community do not actually want apartheid removed; it has brought them so many benefits. They want slight adjustments to remove the most horrendous aspect of it, which made the international community annoyed. But if they were able to produce something that made the international community say,

"These guys are not so bad, and the loans can come again and it's business as usual," they wouldn't care two hoots about the rest.

A year or 18 months ago I spoke to three of the biggest business leaders at a private dinner. It was set up so we could try to find each other. It ended with me refusing to speak, sitting with my head in my hands, like this. They were saying they firmly believed most blacks wanted a full stomach and a roof over their head. I said: "Gentlemen, even for us there are some things that are slightly more important than that." That they could actually, to my face, have the capacity to insult our people.... Maybe they were not aware of it but it was a very deep hurt. We were speaking not just at cross purposes; we were speaking from different worlds.

[LEADERSHIP] Are you saying that, as far as you are concerned, whites still don't understand what blacks mean when they talk about change?

[Tutu] No; there are very many whites who certainly have been told now ad nauseam what the score is. Someone said it's impossible to wake up someone who is pretending to be asleep. No, many, many white people know what we are talking about and are as committed as anybody else to the ending of this system. I don't want to generalise, but I would say that many would prefer not to know.

[LEADERSHIP] Given the events of the last few weeks, there seems to be a greater lightness in the political atmosphere; a sense of greater manoeuvrability that there was at the beginning of this year. Do you accept that? You appear to be not as optimistic as one might have imagined.

[Tutu] I have always known that we are going to win. It doesn't depend on what white people think, you know. Really. And I'm not being arrogant either. I'm just saying that the moral imperatives are such that it actually doesn't matter, because there is no way that justice will not win out in the end, that repression will continue for ever and ever.

The truth of the matter is that it's quite incredible that people can fly into Cape Town, over Crossroads and Khayelitsha, every day, and it doesn't sear them, it doesn't make them think, "How can we tolerate this obscene cheek-by-jowl existence with this sort of thing?" That they can accept the vilification of people like themselves by the system.

You hear Anglicans, Christians, who want to say to me, "Why do you advocate this, that and the other?" and think I am answerable to them. But I am no longer going to justify myself to white people. I will do what I believe is right. And those who find they cannot take it, tough luck.

But yes, there is a change in the sense that you have someone now, the State President, who does mind. You have someone who doesn't.... That finger! P. W. annoyed

very many powerful people! We got some of them coming here after meeting with him and saying: "If anything helped to change our views about sanctions, it was our meeting with P.W." And this from two powerful U.S. senators who said to us: "We are from the conservative wing of the Democratic Party, but the way that guy treated us...."

[LEADERSHIP] What, do you think, is the key possibility that F. W. deKlerk holds out?

[Tutu] It is possible that F. W. will realise that this way back into the world is going to be via us. It is only when the oppressed people and their leadership say things have changed, or are changing, that the world will sit up and take notice. The government can spend all the money it likes, but even simple things like whether he gets invited to the White House or not will depend on whether our friends think he ought to be. When the U.S. president can talk to us and ask us: "Should I invite him?..."

You still have to say these chaps are extraordinary. In April this year there were 250,000 empty places in white schools which they say will not be taken by black children in overcrowded facilities. It's crazy! They are still saying, group rights, group whatever.... But no! To show we are reasonable creatures, we have said: "You've got six to nine months in which to begin to show that you really mean business."

[LEADERSHIP] How do you define the pressures on government, and what do you expect to happen in that time?

[Tutu] The parameters are the forthcoming meeting of Commonwealth heads of government Kuala Lumpur—by which time Mr DeKlerk will have to have done something to enable Mrs Thatcher to withstand the pressures there. Then there's the debt rescheduling in June next year.

We realise he has a constituency that he has to nurse, but this constituency actually wants to be led. All its fears of a right-wing sweep have been disproved. I think this country wants boldness; it wants to see a president say: "We are scrapping Group Areas, and this and that and the other." Let him say: "We have to take people along. Here is my timetable. This is what I plan to do in this period to help to avoid chaotic change."

He will be amazed at the number of people who would come to his support. And the world! How can one say to the world, "Don't reschedule these loans," when the man has said, "We are scrapping the acts. Detainees are out. Those who have been restricted are unrestricted."

[LEADERSHIP] When you met Mr DeKlerk last week, what impression did you gain of his commitment to change?

[Tutu] We had very earnest and intensive discussions. We came away impressed that there was an obvious

concern regarding what we had to tell him, but we did not come away with specifics which would satisfy those we believe we represent.

I must reiterate, however, that we went as facilitators, not negotiators. Our concern is that negotiations should get off the ground—genuine negotiations. We took the initiative to see Mr DeKlerk because we seek a way out of the impasse.

Dr (Gerrit) Viljoen articulated the understanding that there was agreement on the issues we raised, that government wanted to normalise the security situation, i.e., lift the emergency; normalise the legislative situation, i.e., move away from discriminatory legislation; find an acceptable way of identifying those who would be regarded as authentic representatives of the various constituencies; and determine, by agreement, the mode in which negotiations would happen.

None of us would want further sanctions, even the present sanctions, if we could get the commitment we were seeking from Mr DeKlerk in a specific timetable. We would be prepared to ask our friends to put their sanctions programmes on hold if we felt there was a commitment we could accept, that certain first actions had been taken which gave us to believe that a new dispensation was emerging.

Mr DeKlerk said that while we had real problems, so did he. We recognised that, but—without putting pistols to anybody's head—we were saying that if these things happened, we for our party would be able to say to our people: "Give them a chance, we think they are serious."

#### \* Buthelezi on Sanctions, Right Wing Actions

*34000177A Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English  
24 Oct 89 p 8*

[Text] Ulundi. Sanctions against South Africa could lead to a Right-wing takeover and a government that adopted a scorched earth policy, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

In a statement on economic sanctions against South Africa, he said the debate on the issue could not be carried any further, and little could be gained by repeating and elaborating on the same arguments.

He did not anticipate that British Premier, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, would move on her opposition to sanctions and that Commonwealth countries would rest with the present position for a short while.

"There is therefore possibly time to talk about sanctions under two assumptions, the first being that the bite of sanctions is helping to drive the South African Government to a point where it is more inclined to bring about reform and abolish apartheid, and the second being that the bite of sanctions will give rise to depending White Right-wing backlashes and the stultification of the

reform programme to the point where it has to be abandoned in the face of a Right-wing and probably military take-over.

"I argue that sanctions will have one of these two effects and I am inclined to believe that the more sanctions bite, the more stringently they are applied and the wider the sanctions net becomes, the more likely it is that the second scenario of White backlash politics will become the reality of the day."

Chief Buthelezi said the future of South Africa would have to be negotiated and Whites would have to be given the opportunity to take part in this process.

"For the first time since 1948 there are prospects of Whites actually negotiating. They will probably prove very inept at negotiating with Blacks.

"However, my plea is that we must let them fail if there is going to be failure.

"I do not want Blacks to fail because they do not give Whites the chance of succeeding or failing."

He said sanctions against South Africa only made sense if a powerful White government adopted recalcitrant stances and remained intransigent, relying on the White domination through the abuse of power of the state. [passage omitted]

#### \* Continuity of Homeland System Debated

*34000275A Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 24-30 Nov 89 p 13*

[Article: "New Clothes for the Old Empire"]

[Text] The Nationalist leadership, trapped by a deep ideological, and very expensive, commitment to the homeland system, is now trying to remodel that long-standing policy a little.

But despite yet another attempt to give the non-independent homelands a new name—Constitutional development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said this week they could become provincial or regional governments—not much is changing in reality.

And ignoring the escalating cost and chequered history in the "independent" homelands, where there are two official one-party systems—Ciskei, which also has a life president, and Venda; one de facto one-party system in Bophuthatswana and a military government in Transkei—the government remains thoroughly committed to propping up their unique status.

Particularly as all the extra-parliamentary groups and many in-system groups insist on the abolition of the homelands system as one of the fundamental starting points for any meaningful negotiations, the government's obsession with perpetuating the homelands structures is somewhat strange.

Talk of the minuscule but over-crowded two-part QwaQwa becoming a provincial government for people classified as "black" but without incorporating adjacent towns and areas between the two parts of the homeland in the "white" areas, such as Harrismith and Fouriesburg, is frankly laughable.

Viljoen's thoughts, if implemented, would be race-based "own affairs" at its absurdist.

Equally, a kaNgwane provincial government without Nelspruit and Barberton or a Lebowa province without Pietersburg would simply be the old separate development concept under a new name.

Of course, this is not where the government is heading right now. It sees the non-independent homelands as the basis for black "own affairs" units and a core elements of the new constitutional negotiating structures it wants to set up.

Viljoen has made this clear in the past. Earlier this year, he told LEADERSHIP magazine: "I think it is accepted today that these territories ... have autonomy over 'own affairs' that are readily geographically identifiable.

As he explained to the NP [National Party] congress in the Cape in July, the group differences are "accommodated in the NP policy of self-determination by division of power and the diversion of power in a non-discriminatory way".

Apartheid's holy writs are being shredded one by one, but a key element remains untouched: the homelands system. In theory, the difference is that the homelands now form the basis for black 'own affairs' units. In reality, the old divide-and-rule remains.

Self-determination, he added, ensured the protection of minorities and the prevention of domination by one group over another.

"In this connection, the NP still acknowledges the principle of own administrations for the different population groups, of autonomous self-governing areas (still with the choice of becoming independent although at present this does not seem very likely) and of own local management for the different groups," Viljoen said.

Clearly, what the government means is that local and regional government over "own affairs" must continue to be racially divided and that some nondiscriminatory structure for "general affairs" must be negotiated. In short, the homelands, whether they are called national states or provincial governments, must remain in place.

On top of that, the government believes the homeland leaders are the legitimate, democratically-chosen leaders of the people in those areas. It wants the chief ministers of the six non-independent homelands to represent those people in the constitutional talks.

As President F.W. de Klerk told the Cape Nationalists in July: "The NP insists that all the recognised leaders in

our country, who are committed to peaceful solutions, must be afforded the opportunity to be engaged in talks and negotiations.

"I say here today we will not allow propagandists to undermine the legitimacy of leaders who have the courage to play a constructive role through participation, notwithstanding divergent points of view. We respect them and we acknowledge their contribution and right to play their legitimate role in the process of building a new South Africa," De Klerk explained.

Indeed, Viljoen tried to persuade the QwaQwa cabinet this week that its chief minister, Kenneth Mopeli, should be the democratic representative of the QwaQwa people ("Citizens" in the old lingo), at the negotiations.

The QwaQwa cabinet, however, opposed this proposal and called for nation-wide elections to chose representatives.

What the government has in mind that the chief ministers should represent the six non-independent homelands, white, coloured and Indian MP [Member of Parliaments] should represent those race groups and some method must be negotiated to chose represent black people outside the homelands.

And the people in the four "independent" homelands will be out of the process. As Viljoen put it this week, those areas are not on the agenda.

It is all so easy, really.

Viljoen put it so nicely to THE STAR last week: "We must start with reality as it is now." The government's view was the whites, Indians and coloureds had already identified their leaders through elections, he explained. The fact that less than 20 percent of the people classified as "coloured" and slightly more than 20 percent of those people classified as "Indian" voted in September 6 elections and the fact that the election process in the homelands, where the legislative assemblies are dominated by government-paid non-elected chiefs, is anything but democratic is simply ignored.

Indeed, the only concession the government has made away from its original race-based approach is some vague talk about an "open" group which at this stage will not be represented anywhere.

The rest is firmly rooted in "own affairs" and groups.

Despite the new names and lingo, the homelands are to stay. They might be called provincial governments but they will be for blacks and blacks only. And, which ever way one looks at it, government thinking on the homelands issue has demonstrated that negotiations, which are not based on groups, remain a long way off.

**\* Communist Party-ANC Ties Explored**  
*34000224A Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English*  
*6 Nov 89 p 8*

[Commentary by Ken Owen]

[Text] Through the chinks made in the iron curtain of apartheid by President De Klerk's glasnost it is already possible to discern South African [SA] realities that have been hidden for a generation, but some things remain ominously hidden.

The Soweto rally, despite the organizational support of trades unions that command hundreds of thousands of workers, and despite long-distance busing, and despite sustained use of publicity techniques perfected by the organizers of pop concerts, drew fewer people than a good soccer match in the same stadium.

It's too early to say the ANC [African National Congress] is being cut down to size, but it shrinks by the day: A gaggle of exiles who have mastered the diplomatic skills of tapping into foreign funds and scholarship rackets, some violent cadres who depend on dwindling Soviet aid to make bangs, and an inchoate, unorganized, essentially middle-class mass of vaguely sympathetic folk in the townships.

With every passing day, the ANC members look more and more like the people who surround every white South African's childhood and made it safe. Most of them, when the ANC puts on a grand show, have the good sense to stay at home with the kids, or mend the garden gate.

There is, however, one remaining dark corner, filled with nastiness. The Soweto rally, says a clever headline, was ANC "but the day belonged to the Red Flag", and that is true.

#### True-blue Reds

The rally was organized not by the ANC itself but by a shadowy amalgam of groups that resemble nothing so much as the old Congress movement, still dominated—as the Congress movement was in the 50s—by its white and Indian members, working through black members of the SA Communist Party [SACP].

Quibbles apart, there is no longer the slightest doubt that the ANC is led, organized and controlled to a dominant degree by members of the South African Communist Party which is, by definition, a conspiracy whose stated aim is a two-stage revolution, first to overthrow apartheid, and afterwards to establish a communist state.

Don't take my word for it. Look at the SACP's programme of action adopted at the 7th congress earlier this year and outlined in a document titled "Path to Power". "The struggle for national liberation, the destruction of colonialism of a special type and the transition to socialism in South Africa require a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party capable of providing a highly disciplined

organization and the guiding light of the scientific socialist outlook grounded in South African realities."

Of course, it is a little difficult to take seriously a party which claims—in 1989!—that the main historical tendency or our epoch is "the transition from capitalism to socialism". The people of Poland and Hungary would die laughing if they overheard our true-blue Reds.

"Path to Power" also says, at a time of satisfying low inflation and high employment (rising even now in Britain), that "the working people of the advanced capitalist country are now experiencing growing unemployment and a rising cost of living". In the 50s the SACP at least got its facts right, even if its interpretations were silly. Now it can't even master the facts.

In recent years, a lovely man living, I think, on a Transvaal smallholding, has been sending me furious letters insisting that the Soviet Union's steel production has outstripped America's and that Soviet industry has overtaken German industry and similar and assertions. The SACP hierarchy, it seems to me, inhabits the same world of fantasy.

Nevertheless, the SACP can be dangerous, specially if the communist tail manages to wag the ANC dog. For example, "Path to Power" brushes aside the idea of peacefully negotiated solutions in South Africa. "Seizure of power by the revolutionary masses is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. This will entail the destruction of existing state institutions..."

The argument, it seems, comes back to the theory of ungovernability, which has in the past five years inflicted such horrors on the people of the townships and has virtually destroyed educational institutions in Soweto.

In an apparent reference to the sinister street committees, and perhaps to the people's courts, "Path to Power" asserts that where "racist institutions" have been destroyed or seriously weakened, "rudimentary forms of people's government" are already in place. The people of the townships will know what to make of that assertion, but I would not be surprised if the "rudimentary forms of government" explained the curious lack of enthusiasm displayed so far for the released ANC leaders.

#### Special Role

Worse is to come. Of the future, "Path to Power" says: "In the period after the seizure of power by the democratic forces the working class will need to continue the struggle against capitalism... Victory in the national democratic revolution is, for our working class, the most direct route to socialism and ultimately to communism."

In the pursuit of these aims, "Path to Power" assigns to the SACP a special role as the vanguard party, but it goes on to explain that, in the first stage of the two-stage revolution, the ANC and the SACP act as one, agreeing on "strategy and all key tactics".

According to "Path to Power", the SACP also shelters these days within the Mass Democratic Movement. "Within this movement, South African communists strive for maximum unity in action around the day-to-day demands of the workers", it says, and then dwells at some length on the need to win over white workers, women, youth and church groups.

The key paragraph, which really spells out the dimensions of the conspiracy, is this: "All of these sectors, drawn together into the Mass Democratic Movement, are the organized mass contingent of our national liberation struggle. The Mass Democratic Movement, together with the vanguard liberation alliance, constitute the Front of Revolutionary Forces."

More and more forces, it claims, which do not share the aims of the MDM or the vanguard party, nevertheless identify with some of the aims of the Front and should

be drawn into the struggle behind the Front. That would explain the recent attempts by the left to woo liberals back into its embrace.

In a key paragraph "Path to Power" says: "Seizure or power will be the product of escalating and progressively merging mass political and military struggle with the likelihood of culminating in an insurrection.

Cynically, it adds: "We are not engaged in a struggle whose objective is merely to generate sufficient pressure to bring the other side to the negotiating table."

The government permits declared members of the Communist Party like Ahmed Kathrada and "scientific socialists" like Walter Sisulu to speak freely, from public platforms and in the press, but they do not reveal this hidden agenda. They do not permit the light of glasnost to fall on their conspiracies.

They simply hoist the Red Flag for all the sheep to follow.

**Angola****Government: U.S., RSA 'Fabricated' Bombing**

*MB1501153690 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1500 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] The Government of Angola has dismissed reports that one of its plane bombed a village in northern Namibia.

Reports from Namibia say a MiG aircraft bombed a village in Okavango when the pilot apparently mistook it for a UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] settlement on the other side of a nearby border.

An Angolan Government source said the report had been fabricated by [the Republic of] South Africa [RSA] and the United States to justify continuing support for UNITA guerrillas.

Earlier, South Africa's attorney general in Namibia complained to the Angolan Government representative in Windhoek.

**Defense Ministry Denies Reports**

*MB1601094590 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 16 Jan 89*

[Text] [Words indistinct] following reports circulated by foreign news broadcasts and agencies, originating from the South African authorities, according to which an Angolan Air Force MiG aircraft bombed a village near Bangani.

A communique from the Defense Ministry points out that Angola categorically denies that the Angolan Air Force has violated the Namibian border and bombed any area in that territory.

The communique signed by Defense Minister Colonel General Pedro Maria Tonha Pedale points out that the South African authorities' accusation is a clear provocation and a South African maneuver that can only be explained as having a warmongering motivation. That is, to once again support the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebel forces, which, despite their constant cease-fire violations, have been suffering heavy defeats throughout the national territory, particularly in Cuito Cuanavale area, in Cuando Cubango Province.

**Commentary Claims U.S. Main Obstacle to Peace**

*MB1401103190 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese 1930 GMT  
13 Jan 90*

[Commentary: "Principal Obstructor"]

[Text] The "concern" recently expressed by the U.S. Government concerning the "dangerous military escalation" in Angola once again unmasks the U.S. hatred for Angola.

Although it employs the mask of "neutrality," the Washington government does not hesitate to distort reality in favor, of course, of its proteges, in this case the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Otherwise, how can the White House accuse the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Angola of escalating the conflict in Angola when no one any longer doubts that the United States is the principal promoter of war in Angola through its endless assistance to UNITA, which is estimated to exceed \$50 million per year?

Or is it that the "Hercules C-130" transport plane which crashed in southeastern Angola towards the end of last November, killing four U.S. citizens, was carrying chocolates and Christmas gifts instead of weapons for the suffering Angolan people held captive by Savimbi?

The Department of State spokesperson seems to have forgotten that it was under the pressure of her government, which was determined to dictate its formula in solving the internal Angolan conflict, that Jonas Savimbi suddenly decided to abandon the Gbadolite agreement which he had pledged to undertake. He did this and totally disregarded the nearly 20 African heads of state who endorsed this wise resolution of the problem.

It does not seem necessary to remind the Department of State's spokesperson that the Angolan Government continues to be the sole party that has up to the present truly respected the Gbadolite agreement. This is demonstrated by the pragmatism and flexibility that it has always shown. This pragmatism and flexibility were once again displayed when in his end-of-year message, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the head of state, presented various points that particularly strengthen the peace plan approved in Gbadolite, with the inclusion, among other things, of a proposal to revise the electoral law to guarantee the greater participation of Angolan citizens in the country's destiny.

This Angolan Government's noble position, however, cannot in any way be confused with the criminal actions mounted by UNITA, which translated the Gbadolite cease-fire into an escalation of attacks and massacres and which killed and wounded thousands of people, including foreigners, and also destroyed much property.

As matter of fact, this irresponsible behavior by UNITA is only possible because of the military and diplomatic support it receives from the United States, which once again is engaged in an act of frontal belligerence against the Angolan people and which presents itself as the principal obstructor of their [Angolan people's] desire for peace.

On another note, in an alleged pretext to promote the antidrug campaign, Washington has accorded itself the right to invade a sovereign state to overthrow and arrest a head of state for allegedly shipping drugs to the United States. In the face of this situation, the Angolan state, like any other state, has the sacred mission to defend its

sovereignty, the integrity of its borders, and the right of its citizens to peace and well-being for which they have now been fighting for several decades.

**Portugal's Cavaco Silva Cited on U.S., Peace**

*MB1401143590 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva said in New York yesterday that he was optimistic about the Angolan peace process.

The Portuguese prime minister told journalists after his official visit to the United States that U.S. President George Bush paid special attention to Portuguese views on the Angolan peace process. Silva said: I think I have contributed toward a better U.S. understanding of the situation in Angola and Mozambique.

The Portuguese prime minister believes Portugal is a country far better placed to help establish peace in Angola.

Cavaco Silva conveyed to Bush the Angolan Government's views on the peace process and Luanda's desire to see the United States adopt a neutral position. Cavaco Silva added: One should not ignore the positive evolution that has occurred in Angola in past years, namely the beginning of the withdrawal of Cuban troops, the overtures made by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and improved relations between the EEC and Luanda.

On a possible Portuguese role in Angola's peace process, Cavaco Silva reaffirmed his government's intention of not assuming the role of mediator, although Portugal could [words indistinct] diplomatic (?assistance) in this process after a possible cease-fire comes into effect.

**More Than 40,000 Reported Fighting in Country**

*AU1601153490 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT  
16 Jan 90*

[Text] Lisbon, Jan 16 (AFP)—A major Angolan Government offensive against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels in southeastern Angola has drawn more than 40,000 men into conflict, the Portuguese news agency LUSA said Wednesday, quoting a Western military expert.

Angolan troops were currently grouped north of the Lomba River in the far east of Cuando Cubango province after launching an assault last month against the Jamba headquarters of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, said the report from Luanda.

UNITA rebels, led by Jonas Savimbi, had pinned down advancing government troops at the junction of the Lomba and Cozumbia Rivers after being warned by their U.S. allies.

Government forces were using Soviet-made Sukhoi 22, MiG-21 and MiG-23 combat planes, while rebels were

equipped with South African long-range G5 and G6 artillery and U.S.-built Low and Tow missiles.

Government troops had seized control of the Cunjamba District before the rebels halted them, said the source cited by LUSA.

Angolan Ambassador to Egypt Daniel Chipenda, visiting Portugal, said Monday the government had decided to end the offensive in Cuando Cubango and wanted to "continue the peace process" with UNITA. A ceasefire signed in June last year has been constantly violated.

Angola and South Africa meanwhile traded accusations over an incident Sunday when a MiG reportedly dropped a bomb across Angola's southern border in Namibia, which remains under South African administration pending independence later this year.

There were no reports of casualties or damage from the incident.

Angolan Defence Minister Pedro Maria Tonha accused Pretoria and Washington of fabricating the incident in a "maneuver" that would, according to certain reports, justify South African intervention if Angolan troops were seriously threatened in Jamba.

The Pretoria government, unlike Washington, has stopped directly backing the rebels under a regional peace plan trading Namibian independence against Cuban troop withdrawals from Angola.

But police in Namibia speculated the plane had been after UNITA forces, frequently reported crossing the border.

**UNITA: Cubans Support Government Offensive**

*MB1301200090 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1900 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] says it will intensify its attacks in and around Luanda and other major centers where Angolan Government forces are continuing their offensive against UNITA strongholds.

A senior UNITA official, Mr Tony da Costa, told newsmen in Lisbon that Cuban and other foreign personnel were supporting government forces in a push against UNITA held territory in southeast Angola, contrary to peace accords verified by a United Nations observer force.

Mr da Costa said a UNITA attack on the beach resort of Cabo Ledo, 120 km south of Luanda, had fulfilled a promise made by the movement when government forces launched their offensive last month.

The raid on Cabo Ledo was followed by a bomb attack in Luanda on Tuesday [9 January] in which five people were injured and government buildings damaged.

In another incident, a bomb exploded in the port of Benguela.

#### **Communiqué Notes FALA Personnel Reshuffle**

*MB1601090990 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0510 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Communiqué issued by UNITA Political Bureau, Central Committee, and Armed Forces Supreme Command in Jamba on 15 January—read by announcer]

[Text] 1. Conscious of the war situation, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has carried out the following changes:

- A. Army General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, a Moroccan-trained parachutist, has been promoted to chief of general staff of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], replacing General Demostenes Amos Chilinguita who now becomes chief of personnel.
- B. Colonel Jose Nogueira Canjundo, chief of FALA artillery command, has been promoted to the rank of brigadier.
- C. Major Florindo Pelembi, chief of special forces, has been promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel.
- D. Vice president Colonel Jeremias Chitunda has been promoted to the rank of brigadier.
- E. Lieutenant Feliciano Mutale has been promoted to the rank captain.

2. The UNITA Supreme Command lauds Brigadier Armindo Julio Tarzan for his exemplary behavior in this struggle for national salvation. The supreme command equally lauds General (Chipengo Nunda) and Brigadier (Alberto Cajongo Tongolola Mbunge).

Our fatherland, free or death! United, we shall win!

[Issued] Jamba, 15 January 1990

[Signed] Army General Dr Jonas Savimbi, UNITA president and armed forces supreme commander

#### **Mozambique**

#### **Intellectuals' Appeal to RSA President Cited**

*MB1401201090 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] A total of 64 Mozambican intellectuals have launched an appeal to [the Republic of] South Africa's [RSA's] antiapartheid movement to make its voice heard for peace in Mozambique.

The Mozambican intellectuals say in their appeal that, while the movement continues with its just struggle, it should demand the current government dismantle the whole apparatus still nourishing the genocide of the Mozambican people. The document points out that continuing to wait for apartheid's end risks the stability and well-being of coming generations.

The Mozambican intellectuals have also addressed an open letter to South African President Frederik de Klerk in which they describe aggression against Mozambique as one of the most terrible genocides in Africa's history. The intellectuals refused to describe that aggression as a war. The intellectuals underlined this aggression does not aim to replace one government with another but to find the means for its own reproduction, making our country inviable as a nation and threatening to extend chaos to the entire region.

#### **Namibia**

#### **Angolan Fighter Attacks Village, No Injuries**

*MB1401182890 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1826 GMT 14 Jan 90*

[Text] Windhoek Jan 14 SAPA—A Soviet-made MiG fighter aircraft from Angola attacked a hamlet near Bangani in Kavango, northern Namibia, at about 11am on Sunday, a police spokesman, Chief-Inspector Kerie du Rand, said in Windhoek. It was thought the pilot mistook the area for a UNITA [Nation Union for the Total Independence of Angola] base situated north of Namibia's border with Angola, Insp du Rand said, although it was difficult to comprehend how such a navigational error could be made.

The border stretch between Kavango and Angola is clearly marked by the Kavango River.

Insp du Rand said there had been no casualties or damage to property.

Initial indications from a bombed ground hole of two metres deep and four metres in diameter were that napalm or phosphorus devices had been used, he said.

Senior police officers and explosives experts are investigating at the site.

#### **'Powerful' Kavango Bombing Reported**

*MB1501124890 Windhoek Domestic Service in English 0515 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[Text] The police district commissioner of (?Rundu), Colonel (Richard MacDonald), says a powerful bomb attack was carried out just outside the [word indistinct] in Kavango yesterday morning.

Col (MacDonald) said an aircraft coming from eastern Angola into Namibian airspace dropped the bomb. The explosion caused a hole of about 4 meters in diameter and approximately 1 meter deep. He said no one was wounded in the attack.

Col (MacDonald) said the bomb landed about 100 meters from [word indistinct] houses in a densely populated region. He said the origin of the attacker was unknown.

The commander said a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] base was situated on the far bank of the Kavango River, and it is suspected that the MPLA [Popular Movement For the Liberation of Angola] government wanted to launch an attack on UNITA but miscalculated and dropped the bomb in Namibia.

#### Pienaar Protests Bombing

MB1501125490 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1200 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Namibia's administrator general has protested to the Angolans about the bombing of a hamlet in the west Caprivi by an Angolan fighter jet.

The administrator general, Louis Pienaar, told the Angolan charge d'affaires this serious violation of air-space could very easily have resulted in loss of life and damage to property.

The [word indistinct] bomb blew a hole in the ground near Bangani, on the Kavango River, about 7 km from the Angola/Namibia border.

The Angolan [word indistinct] was believed to have been involved in an attack against the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement.

Pienaar requested that his protest be conveyed immediately to Luanda.

#### Radio Notes Pienaar Protest

MB1501202990 Windhoek Domestic Service  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Administrator General Louis Pienaar protested to the Angolan Government after an Angolan jet fighter dropped a phosphate bomb on a village near Bangani, in northern Kavango.

Gerhard Roux, chief spokesman in the Administrator General's Office, told a news conference that Pienaar met the Angolan charge d'affaires in Windhoek, Dr Ribero, this morning.

Pienaar expressed concern about the incident and said this could have resulted in loss of life and damage to property.

#### Pienaar Refuses Further Comment

MB1601153790 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] South Africa, the United States, and the Namibian administration have denied allegations by Angolan Government and military officials that South Africa and the United States had fabricated a bomb attack on the village of Bangani, in the Kavango region, in northern Namibia, to justify future aid to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement in Angola.

Mr Gerhard Roux, the chief spokesman for the South African administrator general in Namibia, Louis Pienaar, said Mr Pienaar had no further comment to make on the matter, but the Namibian administration was convinced that a MiG fighter aircraft had dropped a bomb on the village.

Mr Roux said South Africa and the United States did not have MiG fighter aircraft, and it was clear from eyewitnesses that the aircraft had circled, dropped its deadly load, and then returned to Angola.

Earlier, Mr Pienaar summoned the first secretary of the Angolan mission in Windhoek, Mr (Julio Ahak), to protest against the bombing of the village in the Kavango region. The Angolan Government denied Angolan involvement in the incident. It said Angolan fighter aircraft did not operate in the region where the village is situated.

#### Zambia

#### ANC's Walter Sisulu Arrives, Meets Press 15 Jan

MB1501182790 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Former ANC [African National Congress] secretary general, Comrade Walter Sisulu, who arrived in the country this afternoon, has declared that the ANC would like to have wide consultations with members of his party and other democratic movements in South Africa before going to the negotiating table for a settlement of the South African conflict.

Speaking at a news conference at Lusaka International Airport this afternoon, Comrade Sisulu said it is important to create a conducive climate for negotiations. He said it is necessary to come up with a method [words indistinct] then going to the negotiating table.

Answering questions from anxious newsmen, Comrade Sisulu also pointed out that despite the release of some ANC leaders, the National Executive of the ANC is not likely to change.

#### Welcomed by Nzo

MB1501183990 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Secretary general of the African National Congress [ANC], Alfred Nzo, has said the ANC meeting to take place in Lusaka this week will review the current political situation in South Africa to devise new ways of (?bringing about) peace and freedom to that country.

Welcoming veteran freedom fighter Walter Sisulu at Lusaka International Airport, Comrade Nzo said the visit to Zambia by the South African-based leadership was a [words indistinct] confirmation to take place in South Africa and the effort to achieve peace and democracy.

Comrade Nzo said, while in Zambia, the ANC leadership will attend a frontline heads of state summit on 22 January. He said the forum was for the ANC [words indistinct] to pay tribute to the Frontline States for their continued support in the struggle against apartheid and reaffirm solidarity with Namibian nationalist leader Sam Nujoma.

#### **Received by President Kaunda**

*MB1601105390 Lusaka Domestic Service in English  
0500 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] [Words indistinct] movement that the enemy will destroy them if they do not [words indistinct] Comrade Kaunda said last night that any form of disunity could be exploited by the enemy like was the case in Angola and Mozambique where some people are being used to devastate (?their countries). He was speaking at State House when eight South African freedom fighters recently released from lengthy prison terms called on him. They arrived earlier in the day for consultations with their exiled colleagues.

The president said the delegation led veteran nationalist Walter Sisulu [words indistinct] South Africa. He assured Comrade Sisulu that the struggle to end apartheid will continue in the region and (?the issue will be) on the agenda during the Frontline heads of state meeting scheduled for Lusaka next (?Monday).

In turn, Comrade Sisulu said the ANC [African National Congress] will continue fighting the brutality of apartheid until it is completely destroyed so that Africans could live like human beings. He spoke highly of Comrade Kaunda who [words indistinct] difficulties in his struggle to ensure peace in the region, adding that despite numerous problems Zambia (?had to endure), he had not failed in his duty.

The delegation [words indistinct] a national executive committee meeting with the ANC on Friday at Mulungushi International Conference Center. There were emotional scenes when the delegation arrived at Lusaka International Airport yesterday, particularly for Comrade Sisulu and Comrade Govan Mbeki who were reunited with their children after 27 years.

#### **Defense Official Reacts to U.S. Aid to UNITA**

*MB1601114190 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
16 Jan 90 p 2*

[Text] Lusaka—Real peace could not be expected in Angola while the U.S. continued to aid UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], Zambian Secretary of State for Defence and Security Mr Alex Shapi said yesterday.

The American aid had enabled the rebels to intensify their military activity, Mr Shapi said. "The leadership of the Frontline States and the Francophone nations, who have joined forces, will have to work harder to help the

MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA reach a compromise," he said.

Mr Shapi was reacting to the statement last week by the American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Herman Cohen that the U.S. would continue supporting UNITA until a political solution had been reached in Angola.

"We should not now expect real peace to come as we expected it," Mr Shapi said.

Condemning foreign intervention in Angola, he said: "It is not the people abroad who are suffering. It is the Angolans who are finishing themselves off and destroying their future while the others are milking them."

He said the U.S., by its intervention, was rejecting the settlement proposals produced by various summits and was trying to impose different terms.

Mr Shapi said that when Namibia became independent the Zambian and Namibian governments would jointly clear the landmines laid by SA [South Africa] in the Katima Mulilo area to deter SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] from crossing into Namibia.

#### **Zimbabwe**

#### **Minister To Request State of Emergency Extension**

*MB1601160790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1558 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Harare Jan 16 SAPA—Zimbabwe's minister of home affairs gave notice in Parliament on Tuesday that he will ask for the renewal of the country's 25-year-old state of emergency, reports ZIANA news agency.

Mr Moven Mahachi said he would ask the house on Wednesday [17 January] to consider it expedient to renew the emergency for another six months.

The emergency, due to expire at midnight on January 26, was first introduced to cope with Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965.

It has been maintained uninterrupted ever since, even surviving independence in 1980.

It was last renewed in June 1989, apparently to cope with Mozambique National Resistance incursions into eastern Zimbabwe.

Government chief whip George Rutanhire appealed to MPs to attend Wednesday's debate on the issue.

**Minister Invites Namibia To Share 'Experience'**

*MB160116/090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1539 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Harare, Jan 16, SAPA—SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] was invited on Tuesday to "come and drink of the waters of experience" gained by Zimbabwe since its independence, ZIANA national news agency reports.

The invitation was made in the House of Assembly by Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Emmerson Munangagwa, during debate on a motion congratulating SWAPO on its election victory in

Namibia and calling on all parties in the national constitutional convention to give SWAPO their full cooperation.

Mr Munangagwa said now that Namibia was on the way to independence, it should make full use of Zimbabwean facilities to train its people in a variety of manpower fields.

"Brothers, Zimbabwe opens its arms to you," said Mr Munangagwa. "Come and drink from the waters of experience."

The debate was adjourned until Wednesday [17 January].

## Guinea-Bissau

### New Minister of State Appointed 12 Jan

*AB1301141090 Paris AFP in French 1215 GMT  
13 Jan 90*

[Text] Bissau, 13 Jan (AFP)—Mr Vasco Cabral, member of the Political Bureau of the ruling sole party, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde [PAIGC], was yesterday appointed minister of state, a new portfolio created in line with efforts to decentralize government activities, an official source has announced.

Under a presidential decree, the new minister of state, in his capacity as second vice president of the State Council (federal executive power), will supervise ministries in charge of social affairs, especially the Ministries of Justice, Public Health, and National Education, as well as the secretariats of state for culture and sports and social affairs. Mr Vasco Cabral, an economist by training, is the PAIGC Central Committee's permanent secretary.

## Ivory Coast

### Liberian Rebels, Sympathizers Arrested at Border

*AB1301193890 London BBC World Service in English-  
1709 GMT 13 Jan 90*

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The Liberian ambassador to Ivory Coast has said that the Ivorian authorities are refusing to release 15 Liberian officials and soldiers held at present in the Police Academy in Abidjan. The ambassador said the men had fled across the border into Ivory Coast to escape rebel attacks on border posts in Nimba County. Liberia has accused Ivory Coast of complicity in attacks by Liberian rebels, but the Ivorian Government has denied this.

The BBC West Africa correspondent says that according to Liberian dissidents and diplomatic sources in Abidjan, the Ivorian authorities have now begun arresting Liberian rebels and their Ivorian sympathizers in border areas.

### Paper: East Europe Potential Cocoa Market

*AB1201200390 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French  
11 Jan 90 p 6*

[Excerpts] "Some time ago, a friend of mine asked me this question: What do you think of this rush of Europeans to the East? Will it affect your interests? I told him no, it could be the other way round. The consumer market is going to be expanded since our brothers, who have now been freed from some constraints, will turn to their European brothers. If they can help in our fight for fair remuneration for our raw materials, I think that it will be a victory for all of us." This is the essence of a conversation President Houphouet-Boigny had with one of his friends. Today's political openness and reforms in

Eastern European countries are at the core of analyses of global economic prospects. Some people have expressed concern about these changes, while others are hoping they will succeed. The truth is that Europeans, but also Americans, have been trying to give Eastern European countries the means to carry out a new policy so as to keep them from going back to a planned economy. [passage omitted]

The development of relations between the EEC and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance can be welcomed for global economic recovery, and it should give inspiration to agricultural raw material producers, which are today the victims of unprecedented overproduction, as far as cocoa is concerned. If taking appropriate political initiatives to remove or reduce tariffs and taxes, in the EEC and the United States, can help increase cocoa consumption in these countries, the time has now come to look ahead by going after Eastern Europe, which has a market potential of more than 300 million inhabitants with all the financial support which has now been pledged.

These countries will no longer have to go through the West to obtain the small quantity of cocoa they need. The implementation of policies aimed at encouraging cocoa consumption in these new markets is one of the best ways to look toward the future. But, Eastern Europe will become a profitable market only to the extent that our countries make it happen. Under these conditions, it seems necessary that producing countries carry out market studies to find out about all the opportunities, considering that trade trends will lead to the establishment of a strong cocoa industry like the West's. At this stage, it will be up to producing countries to negotiate individually with Eastern European countries to come up with the most advantageous type of cooperation or partnership so that, bound by the same interests, producers and industrialists adopt advantageous policies to safeguard the cocoa economy, an essential asset for the survival of states, like ours, which depend on it.

It should be stressed that Africa should learn how to make money on its own since philanthropy is outdated. Africa should learn how to take advantage of current opportunities and learn from the current crisis. Above all, there is the need to act fast. Only thus can President Houphouet-Boigny's hope to see Eastern Europe become an additional market for our raw materials become a reality.

## Liberia

### 'Heavy Fighting' Between Troops, Rebels Reported

*AB1301150290 Paris AFP in English 1454 GMT  
13 Jan 90*

[Text] Danane, Ivory Coast, Jan 13 (AFP)—Liberian Government troops and rebels were engaged in heavy fighting Saturday afternoon at Loguatuo, on the border between Liberia and Ivory Coast 27 kilometres (17 miles) from here.

Sporadic gunfire intensified after a truck with about 20 soldiers aboard drove through the apparently empty village, turned and headed back out.

Moments later troops and rebels exchanged heavy fire, while AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondents and Ivorian soldiers ran for cover as bullets whizzed overhead.

The shooting trailed off after about 30 minutes.

Ivorian military sources at the border said exchanges had taken place almost every day since January 2, when Liberian rebels captured the Loguatuo post.

From the Ivorian side, reporters saw one burned-out building with a caved-in roof, and some figures lying in front of it, which some witnesses said were bodies.

Ivorian sources said the village, in full view of the border post, had long since been pillaged, although they were not able to say who was responsible.

No-one has crossed there from the Ivorian side into Liberia since January 5, the day soldiers loyal to President Samuel Doe were said to have retaken the post, when a local official went to talk with Liberian Government forces.

Meanwhile informed sources here said Ivorian security forces had captured some 30 Liberian rebels and sent them to Abidjan for questioning. Two groups were said to have been taken there Monday and Thursday.

Ivorian officials on Thursday formally denied any involvement in the rebels' coup d'état bid in Liberia, which was reportedly launched on December 24 from Ivory Coast territory.

The Liberian Government has accused Ivory Coast of allowing dissidents to gather in the country to plot Mr. Doe's downfall, a charge repeatedly denied by Ivorian authorities.

Liberia's Nimba County where the fighting has been taking place borders Ivory Coast.

### Over 20,000 Refugees Flee

AB1501175890 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In spite of official reports that the rebellion against the Government of Liberia is over, it seems there has been fresh fighting as recently as yesterday. Reports of fighting come from among over 20,000 Liberian refugees who fled across the border from Nimba County into neighboring Ivory Coast. On the line to Abidjan, Robin White asked Elizabeth Blunt what information she has about the latest battle.

[Begin recording] [Blunt] The latest attack I have heard of was a bit further south than what we have been

hearing about before. It was on the other side of the border from the Ivorian town of Toulepleu, and it seems to have been on a place called (Ewale). And in this case it was the rebels who attacked the village: They attacked the village before dawn yesterday morning, Sunday morning, at about 4 o'clock in the morning. They came in and they killed, as one might expect, the soldiers who made up the garrison there; they killed the customs officers, but also apparently they were killing the ordinary villagers, and the people who ran away said they were just killing everybody.

[White] And how many people have fled?

[Blunt] I do not know exactly how many came across. There were six who were quite seriously wounded who are now being treated in the hospital in Man, including an old lady and a small girl. I have spoken to the doctor who treated them, and this was where I heard what had been going on. And the villagers thought that they had been attacked because their village was a Khran village, and that is the same tribe as President Doe. It is not a Gio village like the villages further north, where the rebels have been attacking officials but not hurting the villagers.

[White] Now, how many refugees, all in all, have now crossed into the Ivory Coast?

[Blunt] Well, the latest figure, which is an official count but has not officially been published yet, is 22,067, just over 22,000. But if the fighting is spreading further south, that opens up a whole new area for people to run away from, and the doctor I spoke to was very afraid that it will be up to something like 30,000 by the end of this week, because they are still coming across.

[White] Do you think last week's reports that the rebellion was more or less over may be wrong and that the rebellion is still going on?

[Blunt] Well, they have fanned out, and there was also firing in the original area where there was firing before on Saturday, where apparently a Liberian Army truck was ambushed in the border town of Loguatuo. Loguatuo is empty, but the truck appeared, and some journalists on this side saw the Army truck arrive in town, and then somebody opened fire on it, and then there was about half an hour of shooting. And that is quite a long way from the southern incident. So it sounds as if they are fanning out.

We have had reports that the Army is moving south as well into Grand Gedeh County. And so we are really talking about a bigger area affected than had been affected last week or the week before.

[White] So the rebellion may not be over?

[Blunt] No, it does not look like it. It is isolated incidents. We are talking about occasional rebel attacks and a lot of Army reprisals.

[White] What is the Ivory Coast's attitude to all these refugees and indeed any rebels who might try and come and go across the border?

[Blunt] Well, the refugees have been taken in initially by the people on the other side of the border who are very often friends, indeed, relatives. But it is an enormous burden. You know, you have got some villages who simply doubled in number or more than doubled in numbers, of whole other communities that have arrived. [as heard] Finally, the government has started to send some food up—about 100 tons of rice have already gone up. But the aid workers up there say they think they are going to need about 300 tons a month in order to feed that many people. As far as the rebels are concerned, there seems to have been a change of policy in the last few days. Previously, they appeared to be able to come and go across the border as they chose. But that is definitely no longer the case. I have had several reports of rebels being arrested up near the border. Rebels and Ivorians who were helping them—one person told me that they had an Ivorian juju man who had been casting spells for them, and that he was among those who had been arrested. Here in Abidjan, I have not heard of any arrests, but suddenly all my contacts in the Liberian opposition have gone terribly quiet and I suspect they have been told by the Ivorians to sit down and shut up and that they have done enough damage already. [end recording]

#### Taylor Views New Rebel Offensive

*AB1501190390 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 15 Jan 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In the face of the Liberian Government's assertions that the National Patriotic Front rebellion is now over, refugees continue to cross the border from Nimba County into neighboring Ivory Coast. The refugees now number more than 20,000, and they talk of a clash between the rebels and Liberian Government troops in southern Nimba yesterday, after which a village was burned down. This afternoon, the leader of the rebels, Charles Taylor, called us up from an undisclosed African country, claiming that the Patriotic Front has launched a new offensive. On the line, Robin White asked him about Samuel Doe's claim that the rebellion was over.

[Begin recording] [Taylor] I say that Doe is dreaming, and he has always been a dreamer, and that we are on the attack, and we will continue to be on the attack, and this uprising will continue, as I said before, until Doe is removed.

[White] But where is the fighting now going on?

[Taylor] We have launched one of several offensives that we hope will be... [changes thought] that will serve as a deciding factor in our struggle.

[White] And this is a new offensive?

[Taylor] That is correct.

[White] And where is this new offensive taking place? [Taylor] Well, our forces have been in action in and around (Belewale), this is a bordering town of Grand Gedeh County. We will also be involved in some subsequent actions in the middle part of the country, which we do not want to disclose at this particular time because we are trying to engage the enemy in such a way that he will not understand our movement.

[White] How many men do you now have inside Liberia? [Taylor] We have now between 3 to 5,000 guerrillas now at station in different parts of the country, and we have more and more, thousands of Liberians including soldiers of the Armed Forces that have come and joined our ranks, that are involved in this particular operation.

[White] But when you first came in you said you had about 150 people. How can you possibly have so many people now?

[Taylor] This is a people's uprising where thousands of men have joined our ranks from all parts of the country that are located within this region who understand our struggle. Yeah, we are going to make our presence felt. He said it is over. We are going to make our presence felt in the City of Monrovia within the next few days.

[White] Within the next few days!

[Taylor] That is correct.

[White] Is that a prediction?

[Taylor] No, it is not a prediction. This is a definite statement.

[White] And what exactly will happen in Monrovia?

[Taylor] Well, Robin, you know, this is war. We want for Doe to understand that this is not a half-casted situation that has developed. And we want for Monrovia to know that we are around and we will prove to Doe that we are in Monrovia. And certain actions will be taken and the world will know that we are in Monrovia.

[White] The only thing that has so far happened in Monrovia is that a couple of your people, rather poor-looking, ragtag kind of people are being picked up and put on parade, and [they] told everything about their military training in Burkina Faso and Libya.

[Taylor] Well, I will tell you something, Robin. You know, I do not even know these people that Doe is talking about. Doe has always trumped up stories. We do not even know who these people are.

[White] What about reports that people in your organization have been through some kind of juju ceremony to make them bullet-proof?

[Taylor, laughing] Robin, I will tell you what happened. We have incidents of Doe people eating human beings. We do not believe in juju and eating human beings. We have trained soldiers that we can depend on in the battlefield. That is all a bunch of hogwash.

[White] Mr Taylor, so far around 22,000 people, Liberians, have fled the country into neighboring countries because of your actions. Do you think that is right?

[Taylor] Robin, not because of my actions. Our cause is right...

[White interrupting] They did not flee until you started fighting, Mr Taylor.

[Taylor] I will tell you what happened, yes. They did not flee until we started fighting, but there are thousands of Liberians inside Monrovia and other places that have sent us letters, that have sent us words to say: Look, carry on. Somebody needed to take on this Master Doe. Somebody needed to do it, and I took the gamble. O.K., somebody had to do it, Robin, and how long, how long should Liberians sit down and let Doe murder, maim people? There are more than 200,000 Liberians in exile for the time our history [as heard]. I mean, this is preposterous! You know, I do not like to see Liberians dying, be it on Doe's side or my side. But we have no alternative now but to uproot this bum off our backs.

[White] The people arriving in the Ivory Coast, Mr Taylor, do not seem to have too many good words to say for you.

[Taylor] Oh, Robin! I will tell you: Who are they talking to? They are talking to people... [changes thought] Listen I will tell you, if...

[White, interrupting] They are talking, Mr Taylor, they are talking to people who are treating their wounds...

[Taylor, interrupting] Yes, the issue here is doing what is right. We seek nothing else but justice, and we have not gotten it from Liberia, from Samuel Doe, and we intend to fight until we remove him. [end recording]

### Nigeria

#### Paper Calls for Halt to Noriega Trial by U.S.

AB1401084790 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
0600 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From the Press Review]

[Text] In its comment entitled: Stop the Noriega Trial, the SUNDAY CONCORD says America's arguments for trying the deposed general on drug charges are a ridiculous sham. The paper points out that if the U.S. is allowed to get away with this trial, then no Third World countries [words indistinct] should consider itself safe any time its head of state or peoples hold views at variance with those of American authorities. The CONCORD therefore calls for a stop to the ongoing trial in the U.S. federal court. Noriega, it submits, should be sent back to Panama.

#### Sources Close to Presidency Cited on Situation

AB1201133590 Paris AFP in English 1326 GMT  
12 Jan 90

[By Gerard Vandenberghe]

[Text] Lagos, Jan 12 (AFP)—President Ibrahim Babangida has called off an important visit to the United States next week for fear of a military revolt, after a

leadership reshuffle that has sparked protests in some of Nigeria's Christian areas, sources close to his office said.

Thousands of Christians in four northern states demonstrated thursday against the appointments in the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC)—The top decision-making body—and the government, which they saw as an attempt to "Islamise" Nigeria, reports said Friday.

Genel Babangida's concern at these developments was manifest in his decision Wednesday indefinitely to postpone the January 16-20 Washington trip, where he was not only to discuss bilateral relations but also to meet top officials in the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Observers believed there was a risk of mutiny after the head of state removed Lieutenant-General Domkat Bali and other top officers in a pressure group known as the "Langtang Mafia" from key posts in the reshuffle, which began with a change of government announced on December 29.

Lt-Gen. Bali, 50, a Christian who was defence minister and head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was offered the less important internal affairs portfolio in what he called "a personal humiliation". He turned down the post and saying he would resign his commission in April.

Christians in Gen. Bali's Plateau State and in three other northern states, Kaduna, Bauchi and Gongola, turned out on the streets Thursday in peaceful protests, but observers noted that tension between Moslems and Christians always runs high in Nigeria.

In Kaduna, the Christian Association of Nigeria issued a statement signed by its chairman, Catholic Archbishop Peter Jatau, and other top clerics that said the government was no longer maintaining a religious balance and was inclining "overtly and covertly" towards Islam.

In the reshuffle, Gen. Babangida brought a number of Moslem officers into a new government cell around him and took the defense portfolio for himself. In a nationally broadcast speech, he later said: "There is no south, no north, no middle belt, no Christianity, no Islam, but only one state, one nation."

But the Moslem head of state's address Monday followed reports of weekend demonstrations in Ondo State close to the capital. Observers said it would take only a spark to fire bloody riots of the kind that rocked northern Nigeria in 1987.

A well-informed source recently told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that there could even be a risk to the president's own security. "We can't rule out the chance of a coup bid, though it's almost certain it wouldn't succeed," a source close to the presidency commented.

Gen. Babangida, who is overseeing a carefully controlled process to keep a pledge to restore civilian rule in Nigeria in October 1992, should have little difficulty in swinging the Army back into the line, observers said, but the religious tension was a different matter.

The observers gave him two choices: to reverse some of his decisions, or further to increase his hold on power, as he apparently sought to do in the closing days of 1989. National unity was now at stake, they added, as well as the prospects for democracy in Nigeria.

### Senegal

#### Clashes With Mauritanian Forces Confirmed

*AB1201151190 Libreville Africa No 1 in French  
1230 GMT 12 Jan 90*

[Text] There was actually violent fighting with heavy artillery on both sides of the Senegal River recently between Senegalese and Mauritanian forces. This report was confirmed yesterday in Dakar by the Senegalese Ministry of Armed Forces. But the Senegalese Government says that calm—albeit precarious calm—has returned to the Senegal River region. Mauritanian authorities, meanwhile, have kept silent over this new development in the Senegalese-Mauritanian conflict. From these new developments, many people have died, according to Senegal. Ferdinand Magnonga has the details:

[Magnonga] According to Dakar, observers on the Senegalese bank reported heavy shelling from large-caliber guns on the Mauritanian side of the Senegalese villages of (Nagoule) and Dandou. The Senegalese Ministry of Armed Forces announced that the exchange of shelling left the Mauritanian village (Ngaoule) completely destroyed by fire, and several enemy vehicles were burned down. On the Mauritanian side, authorities have declined to give casualty figures, but Senegal has officially announced the death of two soldiers and four others wounded including an officer, who is currently undergoing treatment at a hospital in Dakar.

### Togo

#### President Eyadema National Day Address 10 Jan

*AB1301073590 Lome Domestic Service in French  
2000 GMT 10 Jan 90*

[Speech by President Gnassingbe Eyadema, on 10 January 1990 in Lome on the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the ruling party and 23d National Day respectively— live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Fellow Togolese: A nation's life is marked by memorable acts that are related to great events and that constitute unavoidable landmarks necessary for understanding national history. Celebrating these historic events is a legitimate act because it stresses the need to assess what has been done, take stock of what has been achieved, and appraise what is still to be done.

On 30 November 1989, the Rally of the Togolese People, RPT, whose founding marked a decisive turning point in our country's history, was 20 years old. This party, which

definitively took control of our nation's destiny, engendered union, peace, and solidarity—ideals that helped channel our efforts toward national development. It has been the basis for the rebirth and progress of our country since the day when, responding to the historic Kpalime appeal, we took the oath of unity dropping sterile antagonism for good, and pooling our efforts to build up the nation in honor and dignity. You understand why it is with great joy and legitimate pride that we are celebrating the 20th anniversary of its founding and, at the same time, the anniversary of National Day. [passage omitted]

Today, thanks to this great party, a feeling of belonging to a territorial entity was born. National solidarity has become a reality, and this has been shown on many occasions. All Togolese have become aware of national duty. [passage omitted] The youth united within the Youth of the Rally of the Togolese People, where, as true responsible citizens, they play an important role in the country's political life. Their mobilization within this active organization of our party helped end the dispersion of the youth's efforts in a great number of antagonistic youth associations and organizations advocating foreign ideologies that are contrary to our realities. [passage omitted]

They become aware of national problems and, knowing where their interests lie, they deservedly refuse to be put in the service of those who seek to use them to satisfy their personal ambitions. I make it a point of sincerely congratulating them. [passage omitted]

When we assumed power, the Togolese Army existed only in name. We strove to create and organize it as well as supply it with adequate means that can enable it to assume its mission. [passage omitted] Today, we have a national army that is structured, organized, disciplined, determined, and aware of its duties and responsibilities. It is an army responsible for the territorial integrity, peace, and our country's security. [passage omitted]

My dear fellow countrymen, the policy of a new deal which we launched with the RPT and which helped give the nation dynamic and efficient institutions adapted to our realities, continued with the constitutionalization and democratization of the regime. Under the leadership of the RPT, a great institution of dialogue, our political life became a framework for exchange of ideas, the only objective of which is the full development of our dear nation. [passage omitted]

Dear fellow countrymen, since the founding of the RPT, we have focussed our efforts on consolidating national unity and on a policy of solidarity that enabled our country, far from turmoils, to enjoy an exceptional climate of peace and political stability. This peace, which remains the most precious gains of the RPT, has been the condition for our country's development. [passage omitted]

Our experience since the founding of the RPT was rich and positive. Our country's development, to which we

devoted our strength and faith, is in line with the pledge we made 20 years ago. But these development efforts are not complete yet, because other challenges await us in the year ahead which we should take up with the same eagerness at work, sacrifice, discipline, sense of duty, and patriotism. This is why we should daily further strengthen national unity. Moved by the party's ideals, we should, whatever the circumstances, form a homogenous group based on solidarity against our nation's enemies. If we want to be masters of our future and build it for ourselves and for the younger generation, let us join our efforts and reassert incessantly our common desire to keep on the path of national unity. This is because only this path of unity can help us avoid the dispersion of our efforts, to fall again into derision, anarchy, disorder, and settling of scores, so many evils that nearly rushed our country into chaos.

My dear fellow countrymen, to enable you to meet the expenses that the celebration of National Day and 20th anniversary of the RPT founding and to help us not to resort to moneylenders, we have decided to grant all workers 1 month's salary in advance to be reimbursed over 1 year and without interest, of course. Furthermore, to reward the efforts and sacrifices that all of you have agreed to make and which enabled our country to embark on the path of progress, we have decided to grant a 5 percent increase in the salaries of the workers in the private and public sectors. As for our brave farmers, we have decided this year again to exempt them from paying basic tax.

Fellow Togolese, the stock we have just taken of the efforts we commonly made to develop our dear fatherland thanks to the RPT is positive in many regards. Twenty years—it is the age of an adult, at which one has the necessary ability to assess what has been done and list the obstacles that one has overcome. The party's organs that we set up from the grass roots to the leadership and which have worked up to now, responded to the situation prevailing in 1967. In 20 years, the world has changed and people's thinking has developed, and our party has showed its maturity. After 20 years of political practice and experience, we should be able to make some improvements and find new means to reactivate our common undertaking for a new start. This is why in the months ahead, we propose a framework of reflection to draw upon the lessons from the 20 years of common life within the RPT. With the RPT and within the RPT, we want to get ready to face the future with more conviction and determination to take up the challenges of the 3d millenium.

Our country has only modest resources, but thanks to our faith in national unity and solidarity, we shall make of Togo a great nation, where each Togolese, whatever his condition and origin, will be able to blossom freely and taste the fruit of happiness that we have achieved together. I know that, as in the past, the RPT can count on your support to complete this national undertaking so that we can with dignity leave for the younger generation, a united, strong, and prosperous nation. Long live the RPT, Long live (?the Republic)!

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